

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

VOLUME 8

1948

Franciscan Studies



A Quarterly Review

Published by

THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE
SAINT BONAVENTURE, NEW YORK

under the sponsorship of

THE FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

25.00

Editors

BX Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M.

3601 Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.

Assistant Editors

Basil Heiser, O.F.M. Conv.

Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.

Managing Editor

Bonaventure Brown, O.F.M.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES is published in March, June, September and December. Annual subscription \$5.00 for four numbers. Entered as second-class matter March 19, 1941, at the Post Office at St. Bonaventure, N.Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the Post Office at Washington, D.C.

All communications whether of a business or literary nature should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Franciscan Studies*, St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, New York.

Cum permissu superiorum.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Allers, Rudolph: <i>Intuition and Abstraction</i>	47
Bieler, Ludwig: <i>John Colgan as Editor</i>	1
Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: <i>A First Redaction of the EXPOSITIO AUREA of Ockham</i>	69
— <i>The Critical Value of Quotations of Scotus' Works Found in Ockham's Writings</i>	192
— <i>NOTITIA INTUITIVA of Non Existents According to Peter Aureoli, O.F.M. (1332)</i>	388
Brady, Ignatius, O.F.M.: <i>Remigius - Nemesius</i>	275
Crowley, Bonaventure, O.F.M. Conv.: <i>The Life and Works of Bartholomew Mastrius, O.F.M. Conv.</i>	97
Imle, Dr. F.: <i>Franciscan Art of Education</i>	227
Koser, Konstantin, O.F.M.: <i>The Basic Significance of Knowledge for Christian Perfection According to Duns Scotus</i>	153
Mohan, Gaudens, O.F.M.: <i>Petrus Thomae on the Stigmata of St. Francis</i>	285
O'Brien-Thomond, A.H.: <i>Positivism and Monism in International Law</i>	321
Roche, Evan, O.F.M.: <i>Edition of Quaestio 10a Dist. 2ae of Ockham's Ordinatio</i>	173
Rosso, Antonio Sisto, O.F.M.: <i>Pedro de la Pinuela, O.F.M., Mexican Missionary to China and Author</i>	250
Unger, Dominic J., O.F.M. Cap.: <i>The Incarnation - A Supreme Exaltation for Christ According to St. John Damascene</i>	237
— <i>The Absolute Primacy of Christ and Mary According to Pope Pius XII</i>	417
Van Dijk, Stephen A., O.F.M.: <i>The Breviary of Saint Clare (Part I)</i>	25
— <i>The Breviary of Saint Clare (Part II)</i>	351

MISCELLANEA

Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M.: <i>A Milestone of Research in Scholasticism</i>	295
Brown, Bonaventure A., O.F.M.: <i>A News Report on the Relics of John Duns Scotus</i>	77

Foster, Frances A.: <i>A Note on the FASCICULUS MORUM</i>	202
Lenhart, John M., O.F.M. Cap.: <i>The Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus and Superstition</i>	79
—Franciscan Tertiaries Established the First Public Libraries in the Middle Ages	421
—Little Known Franciscan Astronomers of the Middle Ages	78
—Medals of St. Bernardine of Siena	81
—The Military Order of King St. Louis of France	82
—A Polyglot Franciscan Librarian	425
<i>In Memoriam</i>	
† Archbishop Paschal Charles Robinson, O.F.M. (August 27, 1948)	317

BOOK REVIEWS

Oswald Robles: <i>The Main Problems of Philosophy</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.)	84
Geza Roheim: <i>Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences</i> (Rudolph Allers)	86
Marion A. Habig, O.F.M.: <i>As the Morning Star</i> (Bonaventure A. Brown, O.F.M.)	88
Rev. Robert Hammond: <i>The Philosophy of Alfarabi and Its In- fluence on Medieval Thought</i> (Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.)	89
John Tracy Ellis: <i>A Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States</i> (Mathias Kiemen, O.F.M.) .	90
Marion A. Habig, O.F.M.: <i>Heroes of the Cross</i> (Michael B. McClosky, O.F.M.)	92
Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.: <i>Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives</i> (Mathias Kiemen, O.F.M.)	205
Stig Hanson: <i>The Unity of the Church in the New Testament— Colossians and Ephesians</i> (Antonine DeGuglielmo, O.F.M.)	207
Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M.: <i>L'Orientamento Professionale dei Giovani nelle Scuole</i> (Rudolph Allers)	212
Juan González de Mendoza, O.S.A.: <i>Historia de las Cosas Mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del Gran Reino de la China</i> (Bernward H. Willeke, O.F.M.)	213
James Collins: <i>The Thomistic Philosophy of the Angels</i> (Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.)	214
William Stephenson, S.J.: <i>Treading the Winepress</i> (Gregory Grabka, O.F.M. Conv.)	216
Marcellus Manzo, O.F.M. Cap.: <i>Recalling St. Anthony of Padua</i> (Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.)	217

<i>St. Jane Frances Frémoyot de Chantal: Her Exhortations, Conferences and Instructions.</i> Translated from the French edition. (Bede A. Dauphinee, O.F.M.)	219
<i>Ricciotti Giuseppe: The Life of Christ</i> (Antonine DeGuglielmo, O.F.M.)	220
<i>Eric E. May, O.F.M. Cap.: Ecce Agnus Dei!</i> (Antonine De-Guglielmo, O.F.M.)	301
<i>Joseph Etienne Champagne, O.M.I.: Manual of Missionary Action</i> (Bernward H. Willeke, O.F.M.)	302
<i>Brendan A. Finn: Twenty-four American Cardinals</i> (Theodore Roemer, O.F.M. Cap.)	304
<i>George M. Buckley, M.M.: The Nature and Unity of Metaphysics</i> (Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.)	305
<i>I.M. Bochenski, O.P.: La Logique de Théophraste</i> (Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.)	307
<i>Guido Gonella.</i> Translated by A.J. Rocha: <i>Bases de Uma Ordem Social</i> (Rudolph Allers)	310
<i>Ralph Stayner Lillie: General Biology and Philosophy of Organism</i> (Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.)	310
<i>Paul De Jaegher, S.J.: One With Jesus</i> (Robert Prentice, O.F.M.)	427
<i>Jepson, John J., S.S.: St. Augustine: The Lord's Sermon on the Mount</i> (Dominic J. Unger, O.F.M. Cap.)	428
<i>Sister M. Madeleva: A Song of Bedlam Inn</i> (Bede A. Dauphinee, O.F.M.)	429
<i>M. Eugene Boylan, O.Cist.R.: This Tremendous Lover</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.)	430
<i>Gabriel Diefenbach, O.F.M. Cap.: Common Mystic Prayer</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.)	430
<i>Rev. John A. Kane: The School of the Cross</i> (Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.)	430
<i>Rev. Hubert Jedin: Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando</i> (Gregory Grabka, O.F.M. Conv.)	431
<i>J. Leycester King, S.J.: Sex Enlightenment and the Catholic</i> (Very Reverend Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R.)	433
<i>Sister Mary Carol Schroeder, O.S.F.: The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes, 1847-1877</i> (Michael B. McCloskey, O.F.M.)	435
<i>Sister Mary Eunice Hanousek, O.S.F.: A New Assisi: 1849-1949</i> (Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv.)	436

Printed in U. S. A.

JOHN COLGAN AS EDITOR*

"There is indeed hardly to be found in the history of literature a more pathetic tale than that of the way in which Colgan and his fellow workers . . . strove, amid poverty, and persecution, and exile, to save the remains of their country's antiquities from destruction."

Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* I, p. x, note 3.

1.

ON AUGUST 30, 1647 the Imprimatur was given to the *Trias Thaumaturga*, a large folio volume containing the lives of Ireland's three most famous saints, Patrick, Brigit and Columcille, collected, edited and annotated by Father John Colgan, of the Irish Franciscans at St. Anthony's, Louvain. This was the second and, unfortunately, also the last installment of a comprehensive publication of the Antiquities of Ireland, both secular and ecclesiastical, which had since long been prepared by the exiled Irish Franciscans.¹ Two

* The present study was written for the tercentenary of the *Trias Thaumaturga* in 1947; by unforeseen circumstances, publication has been delayed.

1. This plan is set out in some detail in a document which now forms a part of MS. Rawlinson B. 487 (fol. 68r). It reads as follows: *Catalogus eorum quo^e habemus partim parata, partim paranda ad praelum. Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae qui floruerunt intra vel extra patriam, duobus vel tribus tomis, illustratae commentariis, in quibus omnes in eis occurrentes difficultates explicantur. His adiunguntur duo alii tractatus, unus Prolegomenum in quo inter multa alia agitur de nomenclatura Scotiae, sancti, viris doctis, aliisque multis antiquitatibus utramque Scotiam et praeципue maiorem concernentibus. Alter tractatus erit Catalogus Regum Hibernias, in quo ostendetur, quot annis singuli ex ordine regnaverint, quo genere mortis, et quo Christi anno obierint. Per frequens enim fit ipsorum regum memoria in viis sanctorum, et sic cognito tempore, quo reges floruerint, facile cognoscetur tempus quo floruerint et sancti. Haec omnia sunt paene parata ad praelum, si adessent necessarii sumptus, vel modus dandi cautionem impressori de 300 exemplaribus comparandis ab eo qui daret cautionem.* Then follows an account of the ancient Irish martyrologies, in particular of the Martyrology of Tallaght, which is also said to have been selected for publication. Of this text the author of our document declares to

years before, Colgan had published (as Volume III of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Ireland) the first part of his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, comprising the Lives of those Irish saints whose feasts fall within the months of January, February and March. Other volumes which he was preparing never saw the light.

Colgan's work marks the end of a great, if tragic, epoch in the struggle for the preservation of Irish antiquities. It is the age of Hugh Ward, Patrick Fleming, and Michael O'Clery. Colgan felt that these men had done all the essential work, and that he himself was merely the heir of their labors; he would even have published the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* under the name of Hugh Ward, had he not given way to the persuasion of his friends and finally to the command of his superiors. In his long preface to the publication of 1645 he pays a fine tribute to his predecessors. Let us hear his own words.²

"Hugh Ward labored for many years collecting these antiquities and preparing them for the press; among these were some complete texts, written in Latin by ancient biographers, which will be published in this volume; besides there were many others, written in our native language, and also divers martyrologies, written in the native idiom by the ancient hagiographers." However, Ward died "before he found time (as he hoped he would) to illustrate with notes the texts which he had collected with such great zeal and labor, or, so far as they were in Irish, to translate them into Latin, and to supplement them with the acts of many other saints, whose Lives he had not yet discovered, but still hoped to discover them." Father Patrick Fleming also "collected many Lives of our saintly countrymen, and their pious writings, in various libraries of France, Italy and Germany. Of these he selected the material for one volume."³ But this volume was not published in his lifetime; Fleming died a martyr at Prague in 1632. Then follows an acknowledgment of the merits of Brother Michael O'Clery,

have only a fragmentary copy at his disposal; he has heard, however, that another copy still exists in Leinster, in the possession of some relatives of a deceased priest named Donald Coemhanach mac Briain Ruaidh, and asks for a transcript. This note, obviously a communication from Louvain to some religious in Ireland, must have been drawn up considerably earlier than 1645, because the extent of the whole work is here so grossly underestimated. — I wish to acknowledge with thanks the permission, granted to me by the authorities of the Bodleian Library, to quote from this document.

2. *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* I, fol. b2, v-b4, r. I translate from the original Latin.

3. Its contents are described as *Gesta s. Columbani* (the Life by Jonas, B.H.L. 1898) *cum nonnullis aliis Sanctorum vitis et opusculis*; this description corresponds with the contents of Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, edited in 1667—nine years after Colgan's death, and thirty-five years after the death of Fleming—by Father Thomas O'Sherrin (Sirinus) O.F.M.

who was sent home to Ireland "in order to procure Lives of the saints and other antiquities of our country." In his fifteen years of sojourn in Ireland, Brother Michael "copied from ancient Irish manuscripts many Lives of saints, genealogies, three or four ancient martyrologies, and many other monuments of great antiquity, of which he sent copies to Father Ward (*quae denuo rescripta hac ad P. Vardaenum transmisit*)."⁴ Finally, Colgan acknowledges his debt to Father Stephen White S.J., who contributed many treasures "from his rich repository of sacred antiquity. May he give this to the press, for which it is ready, before he himself be restored to heaven, for which he is ready by virtue of his age and his merits." Colgan concludes this survey with the following modest statement: "Almost all the complete Lives in this and the following volumes, except for a few that are translated from the Irish and from other languages, and some which I received from elsewhere, have been collected and prepared by the Reverend Father Hugh Ward; to him those whom I have mentioned contributed also some documents which have been turned to account for the present edition. I myself did no more than add the chapter numbers, marginals, explanations or notes to each life, and appendices to some of them; my original contribution is merely a number of brief texts which I compiled from these and other documents."

If these declarations were to be taken literally, Colgan would disclaim all merit in the collection and edition of those texts, and admit merely the authorship of the notes and appendices, and of the *Vitae ex variis*—compilations of extracts from various texts relating to saints whose lives were not known from original documents. In reality, Colgan's share in the work must have been far greater. This is clearly demonstrated by many remarks made by him incidentally throughout the two published volumes. His friends and superiors had probably good reasons for insisting on their demand that Colgan should publish the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* under his own name. Much as he owed to others, the two volumes, which stand at the threshold of modern Irish hagiology, are in their present form the work of Father Colgan.

The tercentenary of the *Trias Thaumaturga* calls for some sort of commemoration. The most appropriate commemoration would have been a new critical edition of the texts which were edited by Colgan three hundred years ago. Since the present moment is unfavorable to such an undertaking,⁴ we may at least reflect on the

4. A detailed plan for a *Trias Thaumaturga Nova* lies ready in my drawer. New critical texts of the Lives of St. Patrick, on which I have been working many years, are in an advanced stage of preparation. The same may be said of the Lives of St. Brigit, which are being re-edited by Rev. Félim O'Briain, O.F.M. As regards St. Columcille, we possess critical editions of the so-called Cuimine Ailbe and of the

editorial work of Colgan as it appears to the modern editor of hagiographical texts, and endeavor to assess its value as material for the new edition which I am postulating.⁵

2.

Colgan's interests in hagiology reach back to his early days. His obit⁶ contains a statement to the effect that he spent more than thirty-six years in editing the Acts of Irish saints: *quorum actis in publicam notitiam proferendis [triginta sex]⁷ et amplius annis pertinaci labore indefessoque ad mortem usque incubuit.* Since Colgan died in 1658, he must have embarked on his enterprise about 1620, at a time when, according to the same obit, he was not yet thirty years old.⁸ Direct evidence of his hagiological activities, however, does not lead us quite so far back. In a letter to Hugh Ward, dated St. Stephen's Day, 1628,⁹ Colgan mentions a *Catalogus Sanctorum* which he once used, but which was then no longer in his hands. He also refers to a similar catalogue by Peter Canisius, still in his possession. Of greater interest is a letter to Hugh Ward, written on August 23, 1629, by Fr. Benedict Lessing, O.S.B., of Saint-Hubert in the Ardennes.¹⁰ Part of this letter reads as follows:

Irish Life by Manus O'Donnell. Adamnán's *Vita Columbae* must still be used in the edition of Dr. Reeves. A truly critical edition of this text is badly needed; in the meantime, the Irish Manuscripts Commission is preparing a facsimile edition of the famous Dorbbeauté codex, now at Schaffhausen, Switzerland. — The original texts among the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* have for the greater part been re-edited by the late Rev. Charles Plummer; a reprint of Colgan's work, which has become exceedingly rare, is being prepared (with introduction by Rev. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M.) under the auspices of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

5. The best summary study of Colgan's work is the concluding chapter of Rev. B. Jennings, *Michael O'Clery, Chief of the Four Masters, and his Associates*, Dublin 1936, pp. 175-181. Valuable material can be found in J. T. Gilbert, Fourth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (London 1874), Appendix, pp. 599 ff., and B. Jennings, *Documents from St. Isidore's* (*Analecta Hibernica VI*. 1934). For other references and information I am indebted to Rev. P. Grosjean S.J., Brussels, and Rev. Canice Mooney O.F.M., Dublin.

6. See Hist. MSS. Commission, 4. Report, p. 600.

7. The copy from which Gilbert quoted was partly torn.

8. Colgan is said to have died in his sixty-sixth year.

9. MS. A. 30, No. 6 of the Franciscan Library at Merchants' Quay. The letter, which is for the greater part written in Irish, is in bad condition, with big gaps which often obscure the context.

10. Published in I.E.R. VII (1870-71), p. 67. I owe this reference to Père Grosjean.

"When two of your religious lately made a pilgrimage to our monastery of St. Hubert, one of them requested me to have some lives of saints copied by one of our brothers from a manuscript of the monastery. This copy, faithfully and accurately made from the said manuscript (which is entitled *Vitae Sanctorum*) I now send to you." In a marginal note these Lives are specified as those of SS. Fursey, Brigit and Cadroe, and a fragment of a Life of St. Patrick. The friar who asked for these Lives was almost certainly Colgan. There were, at any rate, among Colgan's materials Lives of these saints that had been copied from the *Legendarium Sancti Huberti*.¹¹ For this we have Colgan's own word; in his notes on the Life of St. Cadroe¹² he states the fact that certified copies of this Life as well as of the Lives of SS. Fursey and Brigit and many others were sent to him by the abbot of St. Hubert, Nicholas Fanson (Fasonius). This statement can be easily reconciled with the evidence of Father Lessing's letter; even if it was Lessing who directed some brother to copy the texts, it might still have been customary for the abbot to testify to the correctness of the work done by one of his monks.

Officially Colgan was in charge of the work on the lives of Irish saints since 1635.¹³ In a letter to Colgan, dated Limerick, February 24, 1638, Rev. John Creagh encloses a note on the churches of his diocese, and fragments of miracles of certain saints "according as by tradition they were had." For the days of patron saints he refers Colgan to the *Catalogus* of Father FitzSimon; local tradition, he says, consists merely in place-names, and it is not certain that churches of a saint existed in all places bearing his name. Finally he expresses his eagerness, and that of all his countrymen, to see Colgan's great enterprise come to a happy conclusion.¹⁴ Later in the same year Father Rochus, of Kildare, sent notes on the saints and sacred places of this diocese.¹⁵ In 1640 Father A. Wichmans pro-

11. For details see the Appendix. All these texts occurred in the first volume, which is now lost; cf. *Anal. Boll.* 57 (1939), pp. 114, 115, 117, 118.

12. *Acta SS. Hiberniae* I, p. 501.

13. B. Jennings, *Michael O'Clery*, p. 175.

14. B. Jennings, *Documents of St. Isidore's*, *Anal. Hib.* VI (1934), p. 229. Materials of this kind were collected at St. Anthony's even after Colgan's time. Those which have survived are being edited by Rev. Canice Mooney; a first installment has appeared in *Celtica* I (1946) pp. 64-85.

15. This letter is dated October 4, 1638; see *Anal. Hib.* VI, p. 229-30.

vided Colgan with a detailed account of the "dossier" of St. Dympna.¹⁶ Even these poor remnants of a correspondence which must have been fairly extensive allow us a glance into Colgan's workshop. We see him collecting evidence of every kind: texts, local traditions, details of liturgical or popular cult—anything that might be useful either for writing the life of an Irish saint or for the illustration of texts concerning him.

Of special interest is a letter from Fr. Stephen White, S.J. to Colgan, dated January 31, 1640 ("Roman style").¹⁷ The great investigator of Irish hagiographical manuscripts on the continent, and especially in Germany, replies here to some of Colgan's requests. Among other things we learn that a copy of White's collections, for which Colgan had asked, was in possession of Fleming, who brought them to Louvain, "where, I think, Your Reverence will find them, if you have not found them already." White also confirms rumors which Colgan had heard, viz., that the former during a sojourn in Ireland had been received by Ussher on three occasions, and that he had seen in Ussher's house not only "that Catalogue of Irish saints" (perhaps Ussher's copy of the *Catalogus* of Henry FitzSimon, now in Trinity College, Dublin, or a copy of the *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*, which is preserved in several manuscripts), "but also the original Lives, in Latin, and handwritten¹⁸ . . . ; and apart from Ussher's library, I saw elsewhere not only several catalogues, but also manuscripts in which the lives of our saints were written in great detail.¹⁹ However, strange as it may seem to you, in none of these manuscripts did I find a text of importance, or deserving credence, concerning any saint that was not already on the alphabetical list which you, Reverend Father, have passed on to me; on the contrary, I found mentioned in that list names and lives of saints which I had never seen."²⁰ The same letter contains a friendly warning: "The Lives of SS. Ailbe, Declan and Gerald of Mayo

16. Letter dated September 18, 1640: *Anal. Hib.* VI. 230 f.

17. In the Library of the Irish Franciscans, Dublin; Published by Dr. W. Reeves in *Proc. R.I.A.* VIII (1861), pp. 29-38.

18. Dr. Reeves intimates that this was either MS. TCD E. 3. 11 or Marsh's Library V. 3. 1. 4.

19. Among these MSS. was probably the Codex Salmanticensis, which originally belonged to some Irish Franciscan library (see Rev. C. Mooney, *Irish Franciscan libraries of the past*, I.E.R. 5. ser. LX. 218), and the Insulensis of Lough Ree.

20. *Proc. R.I.A.* VIII. 35-36.

mentioned in your catalogue (if they are the same which I have read) are full of improbable fables, which not only contradict what is everywhere written, tradited and believed about our apostle St. Patrick, his legation to Rome and thence to Ireland, but are contrary also to the Roman martyrologies, and irreconcilable with trustworthy statements made by St. Prosper of Aquitaine and the Venerable Bede.”²¹ Mention is also made of Colgan’s collections of Irish ecclesiastical antiquities; a catalogue of churches in the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, drawn up by Bishop Patrick (Comerford) is said to be on its way to Louvain. Father White also finds enthusiastic words for expressing his hope that Colgan’s great work may soon be completed. As we have seen already, the next decade witnessed the publication of the sole two volumes that ever left the press.

Almost immediately after the completion of the *Trias Thaumaturga* Colgan appears to have continued his work on the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. A list of the contents of Volumes II to IV (April-December)²² must date of this period. Whether the second volume (April-June) had gone to the press in 1648 (as was stated by Father Wadding) remains an open question; in any case this volume never appeared.²³ Irish political events, lack of funds, and last but not least Colgan’s increasing burden of work at a time when he was afflicted with almost continuous illness—all this combined to the deplorable result that his *Irish Antiquities* remained a torso. That his interest in the great project was as lively as ever may be concluded from scraps of his correspondence that have survived. In a letter dated June 5, 1652, Fr. James White tells Colgan that for his perusal he has deposited with an Irish religious at Milan a Life of St. Fridolin which he had recently discovered in Germany.²⁴ The Lives of the Irish saints figure prominently also among the reasons for which Colgan, not without some *pia astutia*, humbly declines the injunction made on him by an unnamed superior to write a

21. *Ibid.* p. 37.

22. In a portfolio of unbound papers in the Franciscan Library, Dublin: Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae* I, p. x, note 3. Published by Ch. MacDonnell in Proc. R.I.A. VII (1861), pp. 372-5. This list was found in Colgan’s cell after his death.

23. B. Jennings, *Michael O’Clery*, p. 179.

24. Anal. Hib. VI. 233-4.

refutation of certain statements injurious to the Order of St. Francis which occurred in the Capuchin Annals of Fr. Zacharias Bover:²⁵ "Whatever I have achieved in this field" (the edition of Irish hagiographical texts), Colgan writes, "is the result of hard labor; the work itself is so large and difficult that, even if I could give to it all my time, I would hardly be able to complete more than one-half. The whole will consist of seven or eight volumes in large folio, of which only two have been published; I strive to carry on with unequal strength, but I almost break down under my burden."

When Colgan died on January 15, 1658, he left in his cell, besides his scholarly apparatus, a plan (already referred to) for the continuation of his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, and a large work in three folio volumes, dealing with the apostolate of the Irish in Britain and on the continent of Europe.²⁶ A work of his on the Irish saints at Glastonbury is now lost with the exception of a single leaf; about another, on Irish monastic foundations abroad, we know something from a list of contents preserved in the Library of the Dublin Franciscans.²⁷

3.

Colgan collected his materials on a broad basis. Their wide range will strike anyone who glances over the inventory of Colgan's manuscripts and printed books drawn up after his death.²⁸ There occurs a transcript of the Codex Kilkenniensis, which then belonged to the Franciscans of Kilkenny,²⁹ and a copy of the Codex Insulensis (of All Saints' Island, Lough Ree), which had been made for Col-

25. This letter was written at some unspecified date after 1647, perhaps shortly before 1651, when Bover's *Annales* were put on the Index *donec corrigantur*. For the text of the letter see Rev. B. Jennings, *Anal. Hib.* VI. 235-7.

26. These volumes existed as late as 1764, when their contents were specified in Walter Harris's edition of Ware's *History of the Writers of Ireland* (p. 141); they probably disappeared during the French Revolution: B. Jennings, *Michael O'Clery*, p. 181, and note 14.

27. Hist. MSS. Commission, 4. Report, p. 609-10 (no. xxxviii). The MS. was found in Colgan's cell after his death: *De monasteriis Hibernorum inter exteras gentes, unum volumen*; see *ibid.* p. 612.

28. Hist. MSS. Commission, 4. Report, p. 611-2.

29. B. Jennings, *Michael O'Clery*, p. 208.

gan by Rev. John Goolde, of the Franciscans at Cashel, in 1627.³⁰ From the former Colgan printed eight Lives, from the latter nine; he refers to it also with regard to saints whose Lives he prints from different sources, for example from the *Kilkenniensis* or *Salmanticensis*.³¹ He knew that the original of Goolde's copy was a vellum manuscript, and clearly distinguished between copy and original.³²

Another copious source of material was provided by the collections of Stephen White. It is probably these materials that are referred to in the inventory as "Extracts from the Scottish (i.e. Irish) monasteries in Germany, partly printed, partly in manuscript" among other *Collectanea ex diversis*. White procured for Colgan also several longer texts of importance. He had the Dorbbéne Codex of Adamnán's *Vita Columbae* sent from Reichenau (which was then its home) to Dillingen, where he copied it for Colgan;³³ he also provided him with transcripts of a Life of St. Brigit (*Vita III*) from St. Magnus, Ratisbon, and of the *Vita III* of St. Patrick from a manuscript of the Benedictines of Biburg.

Other channels of information have already been mentioned; detailed references will be given in the Appendix.

Besides Latin Lives Colgan had at his disposal many Lives in the Irish language; a number of these, in Latin translations, are included in his two volumes. Unfortunately not all of his Irish manuscripts have survived. Two of the survivors are almost certainly the manuscripts Brussels 2324-40 and 4190-200, written for the greater part

30. Dublin, Franciscan Library A. 24 (MS. xxxiii in the Fourth Report, p. 605; Plummer's "F"). Among the saints for whose lives Colgan refers to the *Insulensis* are David of Menevia and Brigit; both texts are in the original, but not in F as we have it now. Plummer (*Vitae SS. Hib.* I, p. xix, note 1) remarks that David Colgan used a different manuscript, and suggests that for the life of Brigit he may have obtained a transcript separately some time between 1645 and 1647. However, as P. Grosjean has observed (*Anal. Boll.* 46, 1928, p. 112), the MS. F was dismembered, and the Lives were re-arranged in the order of the liturgical calendar; then one text after the other was used as basis for the printer's manuscript—a practice which resulted in the loss of some pieces. Colgan might well have used this "basis" even where he followed a different source.

31. From this MS. Colgan derived the Lives of SS. Cuana, Mocteus, and Finnian of Clonard; he used it as an auxiliary source for the Lives of SS. Senan and Kieran of Saigir.

32. *Acta SS. Hiberniae*, p. 710a.

33. See Dr. W. Reeves, *Proc. R.I.A.* VIII (1861), p. 30.

by Michael O'Clery; these, together with a third one, now presumably lost, are probably referred to in the inventory as *Libri tres, in 4°, continentes Acta Sanctorum Hibernice.* Of the "two Lives of St. Columba", one is probably MS. A.19 of the Dublin Franciscans; the other may be either A.8 or A.23 of the same library.³⁴ It is to be greatly regretted that two other Irish manuscripts, one containing the legend of Charlemagne, and Lives of SS. Patrick, Moling and Brecan,³⁵ the other, containing, besides historical matter, Lives of SS. Ronan, Patrick and Brigit,³⁶ are no longer traceable. To this group of manuscripts may be added the Franciscan copy of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (Franciscan Library, MS.A.2; "F" in Bernard-Atkinson), from which Colgan took the hymns on SS. Patrick and Brigit attributed to Sechnall, Fiacc and Broccan.

On the whole, Colgan professes, he was more successful in obtaining Lives of Irish saints who traveled on the continent than of those who stayed at home—a statement that cannot surprise us if we consider the political situation. MS. Rawlinson B.487 contains two lists of hagiographical texts, written apparently in different hands. List I (fol. 74r) is in Latin; it consists mainly of an alphabetical catalogue of forty-three Latin Lives of Irish saints which Colgan and his collaborators had received from Ireland; of these all but three are to be found in one or several of the three big collections: Salmanticensis, Kilkenniensis, and Insulensis. This catalogue is followed by a shorter one of fragmentary Lives, eleven in number, of which all but four are to be found in either the Salmanticensis or the Insulensis or in both.³⁷ At the end the compilers express their desire to obtain complete texts of these Lives, and also more accurate manuscripts of the Lives of SS. Patrick and Columcille than the continental ones which were then at their disposal. It would appear that when this was written White's transcript of the Reichenau Adamnán had not yet arrived at Louvain. This list is closely connected with Colgan's work; in fact, all the Lives, whether complete or fragmentary, that come within the scope of his published volumes are printed there; the remainder, with very few exceptions, are found in the survey of the continuation.

34. On these two MSS. see Rev. P. Walsh, *Studies* XVIII (1929), pp. 292-306.

35. Fourth Report, p. 611a.

36. *Ibid.* p. 611b.

37. Plummer, *Vita SS. Hiberniae* I, p. x, note 3.

List II (fol. 74v) is in Irish; it is subdivided in the same way as List I. The catalogue of "Lives which we have got from our country" contains forty items; the catalogue of *desiderata* contains thirty-one. It is obviously a list of Irish Lives; all the saints of this list that have a place in the two volumes of 1645 and 1647 are there represented either in Irish texts only or in Irish texts alongside Latin ones. The absence from both catalogues of Patrick's name is noteworthy. Colgan had apparently not yet received any of the three recensions of *Bethu Phádraic* which he welded together in his *Tripartite Life*.

If no full-sized Vita was available, Colgan would turn to the condensed texts of hagiographical collections; extracts from Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae* (London 1516) and Matthaeus Rader's *Bavaria Sancta* (Munich 1615-24) are mentioned in the inventory of his books and manuscripts.

Partly with an eye to publication as subsidiary texts, partly as materials for his notes on the main texts, Colgan collected a great variety of documents which are not all strictly hagiographical; some are indeed of quite a different type. There is the *Catalogus praecipitorum sanctorum Hiberniae* of Henry FitzSimon; several copies of the martyrologies of Aengus and Gorman, the martyrology of Tallaght, and O'Clery's Martyrology of Donegal;³⁸ the collections of Irish place-names and church-titles already referred to; genealogies of Irish saints; the *Saltair na Rann*; the *Amra Columcille*; the *Cain Adamnáin*; the Vision of Tundalus; the *Agalladh na Seneorach*. Not content with this, Colgan was anxious to present the Irish saints in their historical setting. Thus we find among his works of reference the *Leabhar nag Ceart* and the *Leabhar Gabhála*; Keating's History of Ireland; the Annals of the Four Masters; and several collections of Irish poems. That Colgan took great pains to render correctly the earlier forms of Gaelic may be guessed from the fact that he gathered around him a number of grammars and dictionaries of this idiom.

38. O'Clery's copy of the first three of these works is now MS. Brussels 5100-4; his autograph of the Martyrology of Donegal is Brussels MS. 5095-6. These MSS. and the two volumes of Lives of Saints mentioned above must be understood by Ch. MacDonnell when referring to the "remains of Colgan's collections in the Burghian Library": Proc. R.I.A. VII (1861), p.372.

4.

So far from being a mere collector, Colgan studied his material with a critical mind. In order to appreciate the nature and extent of his criticism we must, however, take into account the general state of historical and philological studies during the first half of the seventeenth century. Textual criticism was then in its spring; what men of genius such as Scaliger or Stephanus had been able to achieve by intuition was not attainable for the average worker in the field as long as he had no guide in a generally applicable method. Historical criticism was even less developed; with some remarkable exceptions, scholars would rely on learned fabrications as confidently as on genuine sources. As regards early Irish history in particular, the pseudo-historical construction of the *Leabhar Gabhála* was accepted in good faith by many writers as late as the nineteenth century. Palaeography and diplomatics, these most essential guides to the criticism of sources, were as yet unknown; their day was to come within a generation after Colgan's death. Internal criticism by language tests was impossible at a time when languages were not studied in their historical development. It might work within a limited range when applied to classical authors, whose language was comparatively well-known since the days of the great humanists; with regard to medieval texts all criticism of this kind was utterly subjective. Modern medievalists, who, after two hundred years of research, still feel that more often than not they are treading uncertain ground, will not blame those pioneers for errors of judgment which were inevitable in the absence of even approximate standards; we are rather surprised at the amount and quality of their productions.

Colgan, for example, saw that the Lives in the Codex Kilkenniensis represented on the whole an earlier recension than the corresponding texts in the Insulensis. This view he tried to prove with stylistic arguments. He rightly took the simple and more archaic style of the Kilkenniensis for proof of its greater antiquity in comparison with the Insulensis, the style of which is "*Latinior recensio magisque succintus*". Some at least of the *verba prisa* which, according to Colgan, indicate that the Kilkenny Lives must be of earlier date are really significant, e.g., *regnauit* used transitively for

rexit,³⁹ or *Scotia* for *Hibernia*.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the frequent use of the *nominativus absolutus* is not a peculiarity of this recension, but a feature of Hibernian Latin in general.⁴¹ Colgan was also in error when he attributed these stylistic peculiarities to some seventh century hagiographer who, in his opinion, was the author of these Lives; we know now that this collection was made at a much later time, and that it was the collector who, whilst using earlier texts as his sources, cast these Lives in their present form.

Colgan professes great respect for his sources, and even for their diction:

"The fact that these texts are not published in a more polished style has two reasons. Firstly, where the acts of saints have been related by ancient writers who tell of great and wondrous things in a simple and not altogether Latin style, we have thought it wiser to retain their primitive diction even if it errs against the rules of grammar (because this adds to their trustworthiness), rather than to change it to a slightly more Latin one; because these writers, being nearer in time to the events of antiquity, may be also considered as nearer to truth in their sincere relation." Secondly, Colgan thinks he can spend his time more profitably with the discussion of material difficulties which occur in these texts than with an endeavor to improve their style."⁴²

He recognizes also the necessity of comparing different traditions, be it several texts telling the same story, be it several manuscripts of the same text. Thus he refers to a number of Lives of St. Fursey *verbis saepius et stylo quam re diversas*⁴³ and comments on these as follows:

"From their comparison it can be easily seen (a thing that is quite familiar to students of antiquity) how greatly scribes and copyists spoil the ancient documents in transcribing; sometimes letters are replaced by others, sometimes syllables, sometimes both; often whole words and even phrases are omitted. We, however, have endeavored to amend these texts on the authority of the above-mentioned manuscripts, which we have studied and collated."⁴⁴

39. E.g., *Vita Declani* 1.

40. *Acta SS. Hiberniae* I, pp. 71, 215, 422, 596.

41. Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae* I, p. xcv; W. G. Most, *The syntax of the Vitae SS. Hiberniae* (Washington 1946) pp. 12 ff., 286.

42. *Acta SS. Hiberniae* fol. b4, r; a brief remark to the same effect is found in *Trias Thaumaturga* fol. b4, r.

43. *Acta SS. Hiberniae* I, p. 92.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

In actual fact Colgan did not always live up to these laudable principles. Apart from the Life of St. Fursey, for which he compares slightly different versions rather than manuscripts of the same text, I have encountered only three instances of collation of a second manuscript. One occurs in the metrical *Vita Senani*, which Colgan prints from the Codex Kilkenniensis, with the readings of the Salmanticensis in the margin; the collation is, to say the least, inaccurate. The second instance is the *Vita Secunda* of St. Patrick, which Colgan gives after the lost St. Hubert codex, with selected readings of a manuscript from Aulne-sur-Sambre in his notes; in the earlier portion important variants are noted in sufficient number to deserve the name of a collation, but as the editor went on he seems to have loathed the drudgery; references to the Alnensis become rarer and rarer, and practically cease towards the end. The third instance is the *Vita Tertia* of St. Brigit. To this text Colgan gives variants in the margin, which, according to his own statement, are derived partly from a manuscript at Cambrai, partly from the Insulensis; but he does not separate the authorities in his marginal notes.⁴⁵

What is worse, Colgan sometimes treated different versions of a *Vita* as if they were manuscripts of one and the same text. This is most conspicuous in the case of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Modern scholars have labored to classify the several versions of this text, and to distinguish interpolated redactions and abridgments. Colgan admittedly fused the three different texts to which he had access into one in such a way that he preferred the longer version of a story to the shorter one, and a narrative in Latin to one in Irish. That Colgan decided for contamination is especially awkward in view of the fact that a portion of the text (fortunately of small extent) is now lost in both manuscripts of the longer version.

5.

All this goes to show that Colgan's editions cannot be considered as definitive. They fall short even of the highest standard of his own time. In fairness, however, we ought to remember that there

45 The same has to be said with regard to the few variants noted in the margin of Vita VI of this saint; these variants are simply labelled "MS.", although Colgan professes to have had at his disposal several MSS. See Appendix.

was in his day no tradition of hagiographical editorship. When Colgan published his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, the monumental work of Bollandus had just begun to appear. It needed the experience of centuries fully to realize all the intricate problems of hagiographical research. Most Lives of saints are "wild texts", that is to say texts which have no definite form, but are in constant flux and change, liable to alteration on a larger or smaller scale with every transcript. This quality they share with a considerable portion of medieval literature; but Lives of saints were among the earliest specimens of such texts that attracted the attention of scholars.

Whereas many of Colgan's texts call for revision, some are of permanent value because they were based on manuscripts which are no longer in existence. They are, as scholars say, *codicis instar*—substitutes for lost manuscripts. In order to make full use of their evidence, however, it is important to know in what degree they are reliable.

We have seen that Colgan's protestations of literal fidelity must be taken *cum grano salis*. An objective test is provided by those of his texts which he published from single manuscripts still extant. It is mainly for this reason that an identification of Colgan's manuscripts is so important; besides, it throws much light on the textual history of these Lives.

This is not the place for going into details of Colgan's editorial practice; I shall merely attempt to sketch summarily his way of handling texts. My impressions are based mainly on a study of the Lives of St. Patrick.

Colgan appears to have been somewhat careless with regard to minor details, but generally reliable in his reproduction of the substantial readings.⁴⁶ That he should have bothered to reproduce the spelling of his sources instead of following the practice of his own time would have meant asking too much not only of him but of any seventeenth century editor. The same may be said with regard to word-forms and *minutiae* of grammar and diction (*miserere mei* or *mibi*; *ergo*—*igitur*; *hic-is-ille*; exchange of synonymous particles)—details to which even many medieval scribes were utterly

46. Significantly enough, Colgan once states expressly that he slightly changed the style of a text (see Appendix under "Cataldus"). He obviously wishes his readers to regard this as an exception.

indifferent. We should further keep in mind the fact that Colgan worked almost exclusively on copies; however carefully these may have been taken, they were made by men who had at best some practical experience in the reading of manuscripts, but no real knowledge of ancient script. Besides, these men were just as prone as Colgan himself to introduce minor alterations almost unconsciously.

It weighs more heavily against Colgan's reputation as editor that (as is proved for example by a study of his *Vita III* of St. Brigit) he often silently deviates from the text of his basic witness. On the other hand, in his *Vita II* of St. Patrick (based on the lost *Hubertinus*, which evidently represents a different redaction from that of the North French manuscripts of *Vita II*) quite a number of readings have all the appearance of being genuine, and not few among them are supported by other Patrician documents. Valuable as is Colgan's positive evidence, it is neither complete nor absolutely reliable; on no account should anything be concluded from his texts *ex silentio*.

The greatest nuisance to the modern student of Colgan's editions is perhaps the immense number of misprints which have crept in; occasionally we may even wonder whether we are faced with a misprint or a *lectio difficilior*. It is easy enough to lay the blame for this defect on the unfortunate editor; but I think to do so would be a gross injustice. The poverty-stricken community of the Irish Franciscans at St. Anthony's were quite unable to bear the cost of their great patriotic enterprise; they depended entirely on the munificence of patrons and the goodwill of printers. Colgan's two volumes had probably to be printed with a minimum of expenses, and were thus almost certainly not set up by the most expert craftsmen that might have been available. In two closely printed volumes of such size a number of misprints would inevitably remain even after the most careful proofreading; and there is good reason for doubting whether Colgan ever got that chance. After all, this defect would have weighed less heavily with his contemporaries than it does with his modern critics.

All things considered, Colgan has amply merited the praise given to him by the anonymous who wrote his obit: *Vir erat ab eruditione, pietate et animi candore valde commemorabilis, et praeclare meritus de suo instituto, patria, eiusque sanctis.*

APPENDIX

A SURVEY OF COLGAN'S SOURCES

In the present survey I have endeavored to sum up the findings of scholars concerning manuscripts and early prints that were used by Colgan as sources for his editions; I have also added some information based on my own research. My arrangement follows the two volumes of Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* and *Trias Thaumaturga*; his *vitae ex variis* have been neglected.

The following abbreviations are frequently used:

B.H.L.	Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina 2 vols. Brussels 1898-1901. Supplement (2.ed.) 1911.
C.P.L.	L. Bieler, Codices Patriciani Latini. Dublin 1942.
F	The Franciscan copy of Codex Insulensis (made by J. Goolde in 1627).
K	Codex Kilkenniensis (both M and T).
Kenney	J. F. Kenney, Sources for the early history of Ire- land. I. Ecclesiastical. New York 1929.
Plummer, B.N.E.	Ch. Plummer, Bethada Náem nÉrenn. 2 vols. Oxford 1922.
Plummer, Misc.	Ch. Plummer, Miscellanea hagiographica Hiberni- ca. Brussels 1925.
Plummer, V.S.S.H.	Ch. Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae. 2 vols. Oxford 1910.
R	Codex Insulensis (R ¹ and R ²).
S	Codex Salmanticensis.
Stokes, Lismore Lives	W. Stokes, Lives of Saints from the Book of Lis- more. Anecdota Oxoniensia 1890.

ACTA SANCTORUM HIBERNIAE

January 8: St. Erhard.

Colgan has knowledge of six Lives of this saint. Three, written in Latin, were published by Bollandus in the first volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*; of these Colgan reprints the first (B.H.L. 2590) and the third (B.H.L. 2592). The other three, which he does not print, are in German; he found them in a MS. of St. Ulrich, Augsburg, a MS. of the Chartreuse at Mainz, and the printed edition of Anton Sorg, Augsburg 1478 (Hain 9972).

January 15: St. Ita.

Colgan prints the K text. He gives reasons for preferring this version to that of R, which he also knows.

January 16: St. Fursey.

Colgan prints Vita II (B.H.L. 3215, Kenney 296 iii) from a MS. of the Cistercian monastery Signy l'Abbaye (Ardennes), which he collated with a codex *Longipotentis* (read *Longipontensis*, Longpont in the diocese of Soissons) and with a different Vita which he found in the Supplement to Surius by Belfort, Tom. II, p. 607. Colgan saw that this was not the Vita from which extracts were given by Bede ("Vita I"), but a recension of later time. Elsewhere (p. 92) he states that he had come across several texts "different in style rather than in matter" in the libraries of Saint-Maur-de-Fossée, Saint-Trond, Saint-Hubert, Arras, the Chartreuse of Cologne, Longpont, Signy and a *bibliotheca Gemnicensis* (which, if it is not a mistake for *Gementicensis* "of Jumièges", would designate the Chartreuse of Gaming in Upper Austria). Most of these MSS. I have not been able to trace. Some of them are probably lost. For example, there occurs no Life of St. Fursey in any of the surviving MSS. of Saint-Maur-de-Fossée; but this library was far from intact even when it was acquired by the Benedictines of Saint-Germain-de-Prés in 1716 (L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* II, 1874, p. 78). The St. Hubert MS. is the (lost) first volume of the *Legendarium Hubertinum* (see above), which contained a copy of Vita I (B.H.L. 3209, see Anal.Boll. 57, p. 114). The Arras MS. is almost certainly one of the following: 24 (saec. XIII, formerly Mont Saint-Éloi 1400), 309 (saec. XI, in 1628 St. Vaast F. 21), 438 (saec. XIV, in 1628 St. Vaast F. 1) or 450 (saec. XII, in 1628 St. Vaast F. 2); I doubt, however, whether it was the last-mentioned, because in this MS. the Life of St. Fursey is followed by the *Confessio* and *Epistola* of St. Patrick—works which are unknown to Colgan. Of the Longpont MS. I can only say that it is not now among the MSS. in the public library of Soissons; nor is the MS. from Signy at Reims (MS. Reims 1410 [K.786], which contains B.H.L. 3215, is from Saint-Thierry). If *Gemnicensis* is meant to refer to Jumièges, this MS. could perhaps be identified with Rouen U. 26 (1384), which contains B.H.L. 3210.*

—: *De inventione S. Foillani.*

Colgan prints the following texts:

- 1) *ex historia vitae et passionis eius in MS. Cod. Rubeae Vallis (Rouge-Cloître): B.H.L. 3074.*
- 2) *alia historia fusior eiusdem translationis ex MS. Mon. S. Foillani iuxta Rhodium in Hannonia (Roeulx in Hainaut): B.H.L. 3071, Kenney 298 iii.*
- 3) *ex vita Philippi de Harvengt, ex MS. Cod. eiusdem monasterii: B.H.L. 3077, Kenney 298 vi.*

All three texts are merely extracts. It is an interesting coincidence that the same three items occur in the seventeenth century MS. Brussels 8928 (from the ancient library of the Bollandists), and that items (1) and (3) are there stated to be copied from the same originals as those mentioned by Colgan; only (2) is said to be transcribed from a MS. of Saint-Bertin, not

from one of Roeulx; but the mistake might be on Colgan's side. With regard to (1) the Brussels MS. contains the additional information that the MS. of Rouge-Cloître was Vol. II of the *Hagiologium Brabantianorum* of Johannes Gielemans; this allows us to identify Colgan's source with MS. 9363, Tom. II of the Fideicommissbibliothek at Vienna: see Anal. Boll. XIV (1895), p. 58, no. 44. In the identification of Colgan's MSS. for (2) and (3) I have not succeeded.

January 16: St. Dunchad, abbot of Clonmacnoise.

Translated from the Irish *ex MS. Cod. D. MacCarthyi* (probably either Reagh Fineen MacCarthy or Florence MacCarthy: see A. Webb, *Compendium of Irish biography*, 1878, and J. S. Crone, *Concise dictionary of Irish biography*, 1928, under these names) *et alii*. Not identified.

January 18: St. Deiculus of Lure.

Colgan reprints B.H.L. 2120 (Kenney 51 i) from Bollandus. He mentions also the short texts in Petrus de Natalibus II. 98, Vincent of Beauvais XXIV. 1 (*recte* 2-5), Hugo Menard and Belfort.

—: St. Blathmac.

Colgan gives the Vita by Walahfrid Strabo (Kenney 227). He mentions no MS., but his ultimate source was most probably MS. St. Gall 899.

January 20: St. Fechin.

Colgan realized that the R text, which he printed, was late. As a supplement, he appends three Irish texts: one from Omey Island, west of Galway; another, "without beginning and end"; and a third one "in ancient and elegant verse, consisting of 74 distichs" from unnamed sources. The first two are now found only in MS. Phillipps 9194 ff., fol. 1 ff., from which they have been edited by W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XII. 318-53. See Plummer, V.S.S.H.I., p. lxiv-lvii; Misc. no. 33.

January 20: St. Molagga.

"*Ex Hibernico versa.*" It is Kenney 201, derived, no doubt, from the O'Clery MS. Brussels 2324-40: Plummer, Misc. p. 194, no. 54. The Irish original has been edited from a different MS. (R. I. A. Stowe A. IV. 1) in *Irish Rosary* XV (1911), pp. 514-6.

January 23: St. Maimbod. The Irish origin of this saint is disputable.

Colgan's text is a reprint of B.H.L. 5176 from Bollandus, whose source was a MS. belonging to the church of Besançon (now in the public library of that town, MS. 815.)

January 29: St. Gildas. This saint is Welsh, not Irish.

Colgan reprints excerpts of the Vita I (B.H.L. 3541) from Johannes a Bosco, *Floriacensis Vetus Bibliotheca* I (1605) pp. 429 ff.

January 31: St. Maidoc.

Colgan prints the text of K, but knows also the R version and the abridgment in Capgrave (B.H.L. 187), further an Irish Life "more detailed than

the other three", which is therefore Kenney 230 vii, not Kenney 230 vi (ed. Plummer, B.N.E.I. 190-290). See Plummer, Misc. p. 192, no. 45.

February 7: St. Tressan.

Colgan's Vita is taken from a MS. of Saint-Remi, Reims. Apparently no longer there. According to the catalogue of the Reims MSS., there is an office of St. Tressan in the sixteenth century MS. Reims 1582, fol. 44-62, but this MS. did not belong to Saint-Remi.

February 9: St. Attracta.

"*Partim ex MS. Insulensi (R) partim ex aliis.*" This Life is listed among the fragments in MS. Rawl. B. 487, fol. 74r.

— Under the same day Colgan prints a *Vita S. Fursei*, translated into Latin from the original French of Jacques Desmay by one Eugenius Gallchurius (Eogan Gallchur?) of Louvain—a late compilation.

February 15: St. Farannan (Forannan).

A translation from the Irish of the O'Clery MS. Brussels 4190-200 (ed. Plummer, Anecdota from Irish MSS. III. 1-7): Plummer, Misc. p. 190, no. 38.

—: St. Berach.

Latin Vita from R, supplemented from the Irish Life as found in a MS. of Cell-Beraigh (Kilbarry in Roscommon). The text is now extant only in MS. Brussels 4190-200, from which it was edited by Plummer, B.N.E.I. 22-43. See also Plummer, Misc. p. 180 f., no. 8.

February 17: St. Fintan.

Colgan gives K, knows also S, and promises to publish R under November 15, the alternative feastday of this saint.

February 23: St. Finnian of Clonard.

Colgan publishes S here, and promises to publish R under December 12, the principal feast of this saint. He mentions also an Irish Life, probably the one published from the Book of Lismore by W. Stokes (Lismore Lives, pp. 75-83), of which four more MSS. were made known by Plummer, Misc. no. 37.

February 28: St. Aid.

Colgan knows K and R, but, as usual, prints the former.

March 1: St. David of Menevia. A Welsh saint.

Colgan prints B.H.L. 2110, an extract from the Vita of Ricemarch (Rhygyfarch), "*ex membranis Davidis Routh (Roth) episcopi Ossoriensis.*" Thus we read under the title; in the notes, however, Colgan says (p 430) that his source was R. He then states that this text is different from those of Giraldus Cambrensis, John of Tinmouth and Capgrave, and suggests as its possible author either Augustine Magradin (whom he regards as the author of the R collection) or Ricemarch, of whose work he had

knowledge through Ussher. Colgan's further remark that a Life of St. David was contained also in K is probably a slip (see Plummer, V.S.S.H.I, p. xiii, note 2).

March 5: St. Kieran (Ciaran) of Saigir.

Colgan prints K and S; he also knows R, Capgrave, and an Irish Life, which is perhaps one of the three listed by Plummer, Misc. nos. 18, 19, 20. On the Lives of St. Ciaran and their interrelation see P. Grosjean, Anal. Boll. 59 (1941), pp. 217-24.

March 6: St. Fridolin.

Colgan prints the Vita by Balther of St. Gall (B.H.L. 3170) from a MS. of that monastery, now probably lost (cf. Kenney, p. 497).

—: St. Cadroe.

"*Ex membranis monasterii S. Huberti in Ardenna.*" The text is B.H.L. 1494, the MS. the lost Hubertinus, which is the sole known source for this Vita (Anal. Boll. 57, p. 117, note 2). Thus Colgan's text has for us the value of a MS.

March 8: St. Senan.

Colgan prints K with the S readings in the margin, and a supplement derived from some Irish Life which he found in a MS. *Domini Guilelmi Derodani* (or *Deorodani*; perhaps we should read *Deoranii* as in the notes on the Vita Tripartita of St. Patrick) in *Lagenia*. The owner of this MS. was probably a member of the O'Doran family, who were hereditary brehons of Leinster. Colgan's Irish original was the Lismore text (ed. W. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. 54-74): Plummer, Misc. no. 64.

—: St. Cataldus.

Colgan prints three texts:

- 1) *ex catalogo sanctorum e vetustissimis ecclesiae Tarentinae MSS Codicibus et ex officio per Guilielmum Sirletum S.R.E. Cardinalem . . . reformato* (published 1607).
- 2) *De inventione . . . S. Cataldi prout habetur in Codicibus ecclesiae Tarentinae* (B.H.L. 1654).
- 3) *Liber secundus: Miracula S. Cataldi, ex vetustissimis exemplaribus desumpta, stylo modice immutato.* (Extracts from B.H.L. 1653).

Colgan gives no details concerning these MSS. of the church of Taranto, nor does he tell us whether he used immediate copies. On Cataldus see A. Tommasini, *Irish saints in Italy* (Engl. transl. 1937), pp. 401-32; J. Hennig, *Cataldus Rachav*, in *Medieval Studies* VIII (1947), pp. 217-44.

March 13: St. Mochoemoc.

This is B.H.L. 5975, found only in K, from which it is printed by Colgan.

March 16: St. Abban.

Colgan publishes K, which, as he thinks, is the oldest text. He also knows S and two Irish Lives; one of these has been edited by Plummer,

B.N.E.I. 3-10, but no other text is known to either Plummer or Kenney (see Plummer, *Misc.* no. 1).

March 18: St. Frediano of Lucca. Probably not an Irish saint.

Colgan prints a Vita from his Office at Lucca (B.H.L. 3174; Kenney 40 i) and another from a MS. of the Chartreuse at Cologne (B.H.L. 3177, 3176; Kenney 40 iv, iii).

March 20: St. Cuthbert. An English saint.

Colgan prints the Life by Bede from *Bedae Opera III* (Cologne 1612), as he expressly states on p. 677.

March 21: St. Enda.

Colgan gives the text of R, "which has no beginning". Some chapters "which have gone lost among our notes" are supplemented from the Life of Enda's sister St. Fanchea. The latter (under January 1) is a *vita ex variis*, and consists mainly of extracts from the Vita of St. Enda. Colgan had heard also of an Office of St. Enda at Galway and of a Vita in a MS. belonging to Bp. David Roth, but these he was not able to procure.

March 22: St. Brendan of Clonfert.

Colgan gives no complete text of either the "Life" or the "Voyage", but merely extracts from B.H.L. 1437, 1436, and 1439; the last mentioned is from R.

March 26: St. Corbmac.

"*Ex vetusto MS. Hibernico Leccanensi Latine reddita.*" This is the story of the sons of Eogan as told in the Book of Lecan 60b and in the Book of Ballymote 233a: see Plummer, *Misc.* p. 187, 214.

March 30: St. Mochua (Cronan).

Colgan reprints from Bollandus (under January 1) an Irish Life in the Latin translation of O'Sullevan Beare and notes variants from a second Irish Life which is slightly different; see his own statement to this effect on p. 791. O'Sullevan's original was similar to the text of Paris, MS. Celt. 1; the second Life is certainly O'Clery's copy of the text in the Book of Lismore (Brussels 2324-40); see Plummer, *Misc.* p. 193, no. 50. This text has been edited by W. Stokes, *Lismore Lives* pp. 137-46.

TRIAS THAUMATURGA

St. Patrick:

Vita I ("Fiacc's Hymn": *Genair Patraic*. Kenney 132). From MS. F of the *Liber Hymnorum* (see Fourth Report, p. 601). Colgan prints the Irish text and a Latin translation in parallel columns.

Vita II (B.H.L. 6504). From the lost St. Hubert MS. (C.P.L. 28), with variants from the Alnensis (Brussels II. 1124; C.P.L. 25) in the notes.

Vita III (B.H.L. 6506). From the lost Biburgensis (C.P.L. 36). Another transcript of this codex (through an intermediate Ingolstadt copy) is MS. Brussels 3196-203, fol. 467r-472r (see Anal. Boll. LXIII. 250). It may thus serve for checking Colgan's edition.

Vita IV (B.H.L. 6503). From the unique Alnensis (Brit. Mus. Addit. 19890).

Vita V (Probus. B.H.L. 6508). Obviously from *Beda's Opera III* (Cologne 1612), which was admittedly Colgan's source for the Life of St. Cuthbert.

Vita VI (Jocelin. B.H.L. 6513). From the *editio princeps*, Antwerp 1514, and Th. Messingham, *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, Paris 1624. Both editions are based on the Franciscan MS. which is now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 18314.

Vita VII ("Tripartite Life". B.H.L. 6509). Based professedly on three MSS.: one belonging to the O'Clerys of Ulster, the other to the O'Dorans (*Deoranii*) of Leinster (see above under "St. Senan"), the third of unknown provenance. None of these have so far been identified. K. Mulchrone, *Zeitschrift f. celt. Philologie* XVI, 1927, p. 1, note 3) states that Colgan must have used one MS. of the longer (Egerton) version, and one of the p-version.

Secundini Hymnus (*Audite omnes*. B.H.L. 6495). In Appendix III, p. 211-12. The source, although not indicated, is doubtless the *Liber Hymnorum* (F).

Paris Officium of 1620: Appendix I.

Officium translationis SS. Patricii, Columbae, Brigidae (B.H.L. 6517). On the first, unnumbered, folio. From the Paris Officium of 1620. For details of these texts and their MSS. see C.P.L. *passim*, and Addenda in Anal. Boll. LXIII (1945).

St. Columcille:

Vita I ("auctore S. Cainnecho"; in reality the so-called Cuimine Ailbe. B.H.L. 1885). From the MS. of Belfort's Supplement to Surius, then at Antwerp. On its exemplar see G. Brüning, *Zeitschrift f. celt. Philologie* XI (1917), p. 272.

Vita II ("Cuimine" as Colgan erroneously assumed. B.H.L. 1890). From the Codex Salmanticensis.

Vita III (from Capgrave. B.H.L. 1891).

Vita IV (Adamnán. B.H.L. 1886). From Stephen White's copy of the Dorbbeauté MS., then at Reichenau (now Schaffhausen, Generalia 1).

Vita V. A Latin version of the Irish Life compiled at the command of Manus O'Donnell in 1520 (Kenney 221). Colgan's source was probably the MS. which is now A.19 in the Franciscan Library, Dublin; part of its marginal notes are believed to be in Colgan's hand.

Appendix: Lessons from the Paris Officium of 1620.

St. Brigit:

Vita I ("Broccan's Hymn": *Ni car Brigit* Kenney 148). No doubt from the *Liber Hymnorum*, MS. F. Irish text accompanied by a Latin translation.

Vita II (Cogitosus. B.H.L. 1457). "Ex MS. Codice S. Amandi" (now—mutilated—Paris B.N. lat. 2999, see M. Esposito, Proc. R.I.A. 30 C pp 308, 313-5). Besides, Colgan used the lost Hubertinus (see Anal. Boll. 57, p. 115 f.).

Vita III ("Ultan", B.H.L. 1456). "From an ancient MS. of St. Magnus, Ratisbon, copied by Fr. Stephen White, S.J., variants in the margin partly from a MS. of St. Aubert's, Cambrai, partly from a MS. of All Saints' Island in Ireland". In the notes Colgan states that the Ratisbon MS. was written in Irish script, and that it was six or seven hundred years old. Unfortunately this MS. has so far not been traced. White's transcript was used also by the Bollandists, "who have frequently given the latter's readings of the Ratisbon MS. which Colgan had silently altered" (Esposito, *Hermathena* 49, 1935, p. 147). The *codex S. Auberti* is now Cambrai, Bibl. comm. 857 (Esposito, *l.c.* p. 141). Colgan's third MS. is of course R, but no copy is now extant in F. In his notes Colgan refers also to a MS. of Ter-Dun in Flanders (now Bruges, Bibl. de la Ville 403: Esposito, *l.c.* p. 140-1) and to *vetustae membranae Carthusiae Coloniensis*. The former was not used by Colgan for his edition. The latter might be identical with the ninth-century West German MS. which is now Brit. Mus. Addit. 34124; Esposito (*l.c.* p. 150, note 103), however, identifies the latter tentatively with one of two items in the ancient St. Gall catalogue (P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge* I. pp. 92, 146).

Vita IV ("Animosus", B.H.L. 1460). Colgan does not mention his source; it was perhaps the same copy, made originally for Hugh Ward, which White placed at the disposal of Ussher.

Vita V (Laurence of Durham. B.H.L. 1461). Colgan does not indicate his source.

Vita VI (Coelan—Donatus. B.H.L. 1458, 1459). Edited "ex Cassinensis Monasterii Manuscriptis, collata cum alio exemplari bibliothecae Vari-canae et aliis pluribus". In his notes Colgan states that he received through his compatriot P. Bernard Aeganus (Egan) O.S.B. two transcripts, one fragmentary, the other complete, from Monte Cassino, and that Father Egan collated these with a Vaticanus, a Barberinus, and a MS. in the possession of Luke Wadding. The two copies forwarded by Father Egan are perhaps transcripts of one and the same MS.; there exists now only one Casinensis of this text, MS. 232, which is mentioned by Colgan in his notes. The Barberinus is now Vaticanus Barberinus 586. Colgan's Vaticanus and the MS. of Luke Wadding have not been traced.

Appendix: The Paris Officium of 1620.

LUDWIG BIELER

*Notre Dame University,
Notre Dame, Ind.*

THE BREVIARY OF SAINT CLARE

THE PRECIOUS MANUSCRIPT preserved in the Franciscan friary of San Damiano under the name of the Breviary of St. Clare (C) is beyond doubt one of the most important documents of the liturgy of the Roman Curia during the first half of the 13th century. For that reason, and because it is one of the most ancient monuments of the Franciscan liturgy, it has been the object of several studies. Those written about the turn of the last century were limited to the question of its authenticity. A tradition, which can be traced until the early 17th century, holds that the codex was written by Brother Leo, the companion of St. Francis, for the use of St. Clare and her nuns. Paul Sabatier,¹ who drew attention once more² to the manuscript, together with M. Montgomery-Carmichael,³ defended this tradition. E. d'Alencon, O.F.M. Cap.,⁴ and Faloci-Pulignani, O.F.M. Conv.,⁵ impugned their statement. None of these scholars, however, entered into a more detailed study of the contents. And now, after almost half a century, it may appear rather strange that such a dispute could have developed without adequate understanding of the liturgy contained in the codex, by the use of mere external arguments and paleographical criteria, which were certainly too superficial.

The first study of real value for our knowledge of this complicated manuscript was an extremely accurate publication of August Cholat.⁶ After having explained the state of the dispute, the author

1. *Speculum perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda antiquissima auctore fratre Leone in Collection de documents pour l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen âge I*, Paris 1898, p. lxxxii.

2. Already in the 18th century the manuscript has been copied; cf. F. Ehrle, *Zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Hofceremoniells im 14. Jahrhundert* in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte V*, 1889, 601, n. 134.

3. *La benedizione di San Francesco*, Livorno 1900, 9.

4. *Le bréviaire de Saint Bonaventure* in *Annales franciscaines*, 1903, 16 ff. and *Reliquie francescane: Il breviario di san Bonaventura* in *Miscellanea francescana IX*, 1902, 165 ff.

5. In *Miscellanea francescana VII*, 1898, 46.

6. *Le bréviaire de Sainte Claire conservé au couvent de Saint-Daimen à Assise et son importance liturgique* in *Opuscules de critique historique* fasc. VIII, Paris 1904.

concluded—also from external indications—in favor of tradition. A short description of the codex was then given and followed by a chapter in which its importance for the Roman liturgy was pointed out. With the aid of rubrics quoting Innocent III as the author of sermons and liturgical usages its actual Roman origin could be traced. Cholat, however, lacked the material for a more detailed conclusion, although his appendices, giving the text of the papal *Ordines*, clearly proved the value of his work and that of the manuscript of which he treated.

Since then some studies have been made on points of detail. T. Domenichelli, O.F.M.,⁷ copies the lessons for matins of the feast of St. Francis; L. Bracaloni, O.F.M.,⁸ published the Franciscan ritual for the last Sacraments; E. Clop, O.F.M.,⁹ quoted several rubrics. Even so, no direct contribution could be made to a nearer approach to the value of the codex as such; A. Le Carou, O.F.M.,¹⁰ tried even to deny its value, but without any foundation. Then M. Andrieu discovered the Ordinary of Innocent III (I) in a 14th century manuscript of the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, cod. lat. 4162^{A.11}. Shortly afterwards he proved that the *Ordines* of C were taken from I,¹² a conclusion which was fully confirmed in his appendix to the pontifical of the Curia.¹³ At the same time it became evident that C was indispensable for the reconstruction of the original of Innocent's Ordinary. The Paris manuscript, 4162, the sole copy known today, is not only a rather inaccurate text, but has also many later

7. *Legenda prima S. Francisci Assisiensis ad usum chori in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (AFH) I, 1908, 62 ff.

8. *Il primo rituale francescano nel Breviario di S. Chiara. Ordo Minorum Fratrum secundum consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae* in AFH XVI, 1923, 71 ff.

9. *Saint François et la liturgie de la chapelle papale* in AFH XIX, 1926, 765. *Il Santorale nel breviario francescano* in *Studi francescani* I, 1914, 382 f.

10. *L'Office divin chez les Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1928, 169: "Plusieurs historiens et liturgistes contemporains ont été induits en erreur en exagérant la portée des rubriques de ce manuscrit . . ."

11. *Note sur un exemplaire de l'Ordinaire papal transcrit en 1365 pour le cardinal Albornoz* in *Revue des sciences religieuses* V, 1925, 275 ff.

12. *L'Ordinaire de la chapelle papale et le cardinal Jacques Gaétani Stefaneschi* in *Ephemerides liturgicae* (EL) XLIX, 1935, 234 ff. *Le Missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIIIe siècle* in *Miscella nea Ehrle II.*, *Studi e testi*, vol. 38, Romae 1924, 375 f.

13. *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen âge. II. Le Pontifical de la Curie Romaine au XIIIe siècle* in *Studi e testi* vol. 87, Città del Vaticano 1940, 541 ff.

insertions, which can often be detected only by comparing its text with that of C. On the other hand C does not always completely follow its model (I) Andrieu noted already some slight divergences, suppressions evidently made for the purpose of adaptation.¹⁴

All this was done with the aid of Cholat's publication. At this stage a more detailed study is required to put the relationship of both I and C in their true light. My study of C, during the war years 1941 and 1943, revealed certain things which must be taken into account for a right evaluation of this highly interesting manuscript. The following pages will explain the conclusion to which I have come.

The name "breviary" for the codex of San Damiano is absolutely misleading. The book is as much a complete missal as a breviary. This, apart from the fact that it contains the liturgical texts in full—whereas "I," being an Ordinary, only gives their initial words—is the most important difference between the two codices. "I" is an Ordinary for the Office with several papal *Ordines* and rubrics for Mass. There is even a kind of order for the Sunday Masses after Pentecost,¹⁵ but it never becomes an ordinary of the missal. Yet, in the Proper of the Season, C regularly inserts after terce or none the full text of the corresponding Masses. This reveals that C has been affected, directly or indirectly, by an extraneous influence, which added elements are not to be found in "I," nor in any common breviary with rubrics and texts of the Divine Office.

What is more, the missal which has been inserted cannot be considered as that of the Curia. Although the greater part is identical with the Franciscan books—either pre-Haymonian missal, *Ordo missalis* of Haymo of Faversham, or the missal founded on his correction,¹⁶—the differences are too numerous to allow it to be regarded as a merely exceptional copy. I noted a long list of them; the following are examples.¹⁷ The corresponding texts of the

14. *L'Ordinaire*, loc. cit., 238, n. 5; 239, n. 6; 241, n. 9; 246, n. 4.

15. I fol. 48^{r-a}: *In hac prima dominica. post pentecosten. quia diversitas magna est in libris de introitibus. orationibus. epistolis. (et) evangelii. qualiter in romana curia. dicantur notare proculo.* The Ordo is copied in the Breviary of St. Francis (F), fol. 82^{r-a}.

16. A. van Dijk, O.F.M., *Il carattere della correzione liturgica di fra Aimone da Faversham*, O.F.M., in EI LIX, 1945, 177 ff.; LX, 1946, 309 ff. Cf. loc. cit., LIX, 195 f.

17. Ed R. Lippe, London, 1899. Cf. vol. 32, London, 1907.

Curia and the Franciscans can easily be found in the many Roman missals before 1570 and in the modern edition of the *editio princeps* (Milan 1474) in the 17th volume of the Henry Bradshaw Society.¹⁸

In resurrectione domini

fol. CXIX^{r-a}: Introitus. *Resurrexi et adhuc . . . ps. Domine probasti me. iterum a capite. Resurrexi. et postea Gloria patri. et postea adhuc reiteratur a capite introitus.*¹⁹

Dominica I post Pentecosten

fol. CXLVIII^{r-a}: *Alleluia. V Qui sanat contritos corde et alligat contritiones eorum.*

Dominica II post Pent.

fol. CL^{r-b}: *Alleluia. V Lauda Iherusalem dominum landa deum tuum Syon. quoniam . . . tuos in te.*

Dominica III post Pent.

fol. CL^{v-b}, CLI^{r-a}: *Alleluia. V Qui posuit fines tuos pacem . . . satiat te. Comunio. Ego clamavi quoniam exaudisti me deus inclina aurem tuam et exaudi verba mea.*

Dominica IV post Pent.

fol. CLIV^{v-a}: *Alleluia. V Jubilate deo omnis terra servite dominum in letitia.*

Dominica V post Pent.

fol. CLII^{r-a}: *Alleluia. V Venite exsultemus domino. iubilemus deo . . . nostro V Preoccupemus . . . iubilemus ei.*

Dominica VI post Pent.

fol. CLII^{v-a}: *Alleluia. V Laudate dominum. quoniam bonum /sic/ est. psalmus /sic/ deo nostro iocunda sit laudatio.*

Dominica VII post Pent.

fol. CLIII^{r-a}: *Alleluia. V Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis . . . sancto eius. Offertorium Populum humilem . . . preter te domine. Communio Tollite hostias . . . sancta eius.*

Dominica VIII post. Pent.

fol. CLIII^{v-a}: *Graduale. Liberasti nos domine ex afflignantibus . . . confudisti. V In deo laudabimus . . . in secula. — Alleluia. V Lauda anima mea . . . quamdiu ero.*

18. See also in the description, the arrangements of the Common of the Saints and of the Votive Masses.

19. The custom of repeating thrice the Introit was well known—the testimonies quoted by G. G. Sölch, O.P., *Hugo von St. Cher, O.P., und die Anfänge der Dominikanerliturgie*, Köln 1938, 56 ff., can be completed by that of Sicardus of Cremona, *Mitrale*, lib. III, cap. 2, PL 213, 94. Yet it was not of Roman origin, nor observed by the Curia. For which reason it was explicitly prohibited by Haymo's *Ordo Missalis* (first rubric) and the slightly later *Ordinationes divini officii*. Cf. van Dijk, EL LV, 1941, 97 f.

Dominica IX post Pent.

fol. CLIII^{r-b}: Graduale. *Esto michi in deum . . . me facias. V Deus in te speravi domine non confundar in eternum. — Alleluia. V Dominus regnavit decorem induit . . . virtute. — Communio. Primum querite regnum dei . . . dominus.*

Dominica X post Pent.

fol. CLIII^{v-b}: Graduale. *Domine dominus noster quam admirabile . . . terra. V Quoniam elevata est super nos magnificientia tua.*

· · · · ·

Dominica XXIII post Pent.

fol. CLXII^{v-b}: Oratio. *Excita domine tuorum fidelium . . . Grad. Timebunt . . . V Quoniam edificabit dominus . . . Alla. V Dominus regnavit decorum induit . . . virtutem /sic/ — fol. CLXIII^{r-a}: Offert. Recordare domine omnipotentatui dominans . . .*

In cathedra sancti Petri.

fol. CLXXVII^{v-a}: Grad. *Ecce sacerdos . . . V Non est inventus . . . Alla. V Exaltent eum . . . plebis. Si venerit in septuagesima cantetur tractus Beatus vir . . . nimis. — Offert. Veritas mea.*

In annuntiatione beate Marie virginis.

fol. CLXXVIII^{v-a}: Oratio ad collectam ad sanctum adrianum. *Deus qui de beate . . .²⁰ Tractus. Laudate dominum omnes gentes . . . V Quoniam . . . /Post Missam/ Oratio ad vesperum. Deus qui hodierna die verbum tuum beate Marie virginis alvo coadunare voluisti fac nos ita peragere ut tibi semper placere valeamus. per.*

In natali sancti Leonis pape.²¹

fol. CLXXVIII^{v-b}: Oratio. *Exaudi quesumus domine preces nostras . . . Secreta. Sancti Leonis confessoris tui . . . Postcom. Deus fidelium remunerator animarum . . .*

In inventione sancte crucis.

fol. CLXXVIII^{v-a}: Alla. *V Dominus regnavit decorem induit . . . Alla. V Per virtutem crucis libera nos domine ab inimicis nostris. — Communio. Spiritus ubi vult spirat et vocem . . . aut quo vadit Alleluia. alleluia.*

In dedicatione sancte marie ad martyres.²²

fol. CLXXX^{r-b}: Oratio. *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ad eorum nos gaudia eterna pertingere . . . /Secreta./ Super has quesumus domine hostias benedictio copiosa . . . /Postcom./ Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus ut quos tuis reficias . . .*

20. This feast does not occur in I, F and the Franciscan books.

21. Cf. I, fol. 582².

22. The feast is not in I, nor in the Franciscan Calendar. It is in the Calendar of F under 13 May. E. Martène, O.S.B., *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus III*, Antverpiæ 1764, 205^b (lib. IV, cap. 32, n. 10), quotes from an Ordinary of St. Martin of Tours the following text: *non dicuntur matutine de beata Maria, sed alie hore dicuntur /i.e. feriae/ et ad suffragia matutinarum nichil de resurrectione. Et dicitur oratio sola in principio misse et alia in fine.*

/In sancti Iohannis baptiste/

fol. CLXXXIV^{v-a}: Missa in primo mane. Introitus *Iustus ut palma . . .*
 Ad maiorum missam. — Grad. *Priusquam te formarem . . . V*
Misit dominus manum . . . Alla. V Beatus vir . . . Alla. V
Inter natos mulierum . . . /Post Missam, fol. CLXXXII^{r-b}/ Ad
vesperum oratio Omnipotens sempiterne deus da cordibus nostris
illam tuarum rectitudinem . . .

In sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli.

fol. CLXXXII^{r-b}: Grad. *Ecce quam bonum /Uti in O.F.M./ . . . V*
Sicut unguentum . . . V Mandavit dominus benedictionem . . .
Alla. V Guadete iusti . . .

In vigilia apostolorum /Petri et Pauli/

fol. CLXXXII^v: Grad. *Nimis honorati sunt . . . /Post Missam de vigilia/*
Ad vigilias in nocte. Oratio. Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli
tui Petri fide et nomine coronasti . . .

In festo /apostolorum/

fol. CLXXXIII^{r-a}: Grad. *In omnem terram . . . V Celi ennarrant . . .*
Alla. V Nimis honorati . . . Offert. Beatus es symon Petre quia
caro . . . eorum. Communio. Domine si tu es iube /me/ venire
ad te super aquas . . . quare dubitasti . . . Alia oratio ad vesperum.
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica
soliditate . . . Alia oratio. Familiam tuam domine propitius
intuere . . . Alia oratio. Exaudi nos deus salutaris noster ut et
apostolorum tuorum . . .

In sancti xystij pape et martiris.

fol. CLXXXV^{r-a}: Intr. *Sacerdotes eius. Oratio Deus qui conspici quia*
. . . Secreta. Sacrificiis presentibus domine . . . Postcom. pre-
phatio Vere /sic/ intra quorum nos consortio . . . benedictio uve.
Benedic domine et hos fructus et novos uve /sic/ . . .

Even as a breviary, C is not a true copy of the Ordinary. Here again it is a question of detail, which however cannot be neglected with impunity. Andrieu suggested that "a disciple of St. Francis, perhaps Brother Leo, transcribed entirely the long rubrics for the magnificent papal ceremonies, little practical use though it was."²³ Yet on the contrary, it appears that the copyist of C had carefully selected the rubrics he copied. He suppressed almost all the mere papal rubrics and ceremonies, i.e., those which could not be practiced outside the papal court and were of no use to an ordinary bishop. In this way vanished the ceremonies of the Golden Rose,²⁴

23. L'Ordinaire, loc. cit., 248.

24. I fol. 2v.

the rubrics for Christmas Day and St. Stephen,²⁵ the preparation and distribution of the Agnus Dei,²⁶ the rubrics for the feast of St. Nicholas, Patron Saint of the Curia, (6 Dec.),²⁷ the local order of the Greater Litanies,²⁸ the special rubrics for the feast of St. John the Baptist, Patron of the Lateran Basilica,²⁹ etc. But he retained the *Ordines* for the blessings of ashes on Ash Wednesday,³⁰ for Holy Week,³¹ Easter Sunday,³² Vigil of Pentecost,³³ for the blessing of candles on Candlemas Day.³⁴ He copied also the order of the procession with the Veil of Veronica.³⁵ This, instituted by Innocent III, was of merely Roman character, but in the intention of the copyist the rubric may well have served as an example for a similar procession in the local liturgy by which C has been influenced.

Now, even in the breviary, part C was actually influenced by a local liturgy. So far, the codex has been regarded as written by and for the friars. The reasons were fourfold: the tradition already mentioned, the Franciscan (pre-Haymonian) litany in the beginning of the book,³⁶ the Franciscan (pre-Haymonian) ritual and the lessons for the feast of St. Francis at the end. At first it was in the light of these facts that, even after the discovery of the liturgical activity of the friars before Haymo of Faversham,³⁷ I followed the general opinion. I tried to consider the breviary, part of C, as an extract from a Curial model, brought up to date by the friars with the aid of their own breviary, adapted from the Ordinary and breviary of the Curia, already before the canonization of St. Francis (1228). The friars could have arranged the division and the number of the lessons which, unlike the breviary of St. Francis, in C are

25. I fol. 8r-a-9r-a.

26. I fol. 41.

27. I fol. 53v.

28. I fol. 59v-60v-b.

29. I fol. 63r-a.

30. I fol. 20r-b-20v-b; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 78 f.

31. I fol. 26v-a-38r-b; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 79 ff.; Andrieu, *Le Pontifical II*, 541 ff. (without Palm Sunday).

32. I fol. 38r-a-40v-a; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 92 ff.

33. I fol. 45v-a; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 94 f.

34. I fol. 55r-a; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 95. The greater part is missing in C. See the description.

35. I fol. 15r-b-15v-a; Cholat, *op. cit.*, 61 f.

36. See the description of the codex.

37. A study about this period, 1223-1243, is in preparation.

almost always those of the pre-Haymonian breviary.³⁸ They could have replaced most of the lessons of Innocent III by those of their own breviary.³⁹ They could have suppressed the dedication of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace,⁴⁰ the title *Pater Noster*, given to St. Nicholas as Patron Saint of the Curia,⁴¹ Innocent's Common of the Doctors,⁴² etc.

However, this did not explain why the friars, *in casu* Brother Leo, should have written such an enormous manuscript as C, whilst they had already their own pre-Haymonian breviary. Furthermore, the breviary-part of C not only keeps the middle path between "I" and the breviary of the friars. It contains also a number of peculiarities which are extraneous to these books. Some of them have possibly escaped my attention, but those I was able to check were sufficient to destroy my own suppositions and consequently a good deal of the traditional opinion.

The insertion of the non-Franciscan missal could be imagined as a consequence of the fact that the friars had not yet their own (pre-Haymonian) missal, at the time that C was being written. Their Rule of 1223 treats in principle only of the Divine Office. The pre-Haymonian breviary was prepared immediately after promulgation, but the question of the missal became more acute only through the increasing number of priests in the Order. This, however, was relatively late. In 1241-42, the exposition of the Rule by the Four Masters of Paris referred to an opinion of some friars who, in a typically scholastic way, had found the juridical foundation of a missal in agreement with the Office prescribed by the Rule. Therefore, the pre-Haymonian missal is probably some fifteen years later than the breviary. In that period the breviary-part of C could have been completed with a local missal. In the same way, for want of an *Ordo* of private Mass, the scribe could have added the small treatise on the subject.⁴³ This could be said of the *Ordo* for the

38. Cf. for instance, V. Dijk, *Il Carattere*, loc. cit. LX, 322, n. xviii.

39. Only a few lessons in the Proper of the Season are taken from Innocent III, cf. Cholat, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.

40. Cf. the rubric in Andrien, *Note sur un exemplaire*, loc. cit.

41. In the prayer *Deus qui beatum Nicolaum*. It is still to be found in F fol. 109r-b.

42. I fol. 77r-a; F fol. 184r-b.

43. The treatise has been published in *Firmamentum trium Ordinum B.P.N. Francisci*, Parisius 1512, pars IV, fol. 18v ff. The text is very corrupt. The following

blessing and distribution of Holy Water on Sunday,⁴⁴ which also contains several elements extraneous to that used later on by the friars, the prayers collected under the title *Ex ordine Romano oratio super lectum defuncti positum in rota clericorum*, etc. All this could have been the work of the friars.

Nevertheless, this explanation is useless. It does not solve the much more serious, and in my opinion insuperable, difficulties presented in the breviary-part of C.

1. First of all there are the two different Masses *Rogamus* for the dead, of which the second is inserted in the Franciscan ritual for the Last Sacraments.⁴⁵ Not only did the friars, to the best of my knowledge, always use the Mass *Requiem*, that in fact has been added at the end of the codex, but certainly Brother Leo would have had too much veneration for the Franciscan text—then just published—to make such an insertion. More particularly as he had copied it some five pages before. The ritual, therefore, has been transcribed as it stood in the codex from which C has been copied. That codex was not a Curial one, but belonged to a church where the Franciscan ritual was adopted and completed with the Mass *Rogamus*. The fact then that the *Rogamus* of the ritual is different from that at the end of the votive Masses suggests that C, directly or indirectly, is based on different manuscripts.

2. More important still are the short rubrics hidden among those copied from I. Some of them fit in well with the Office of the Curia, as, for instance, the rule for the *Laus tibi domine rex eterne glorie*, to be said from Septuagesima till Holy Saturday instead of the *Alleluia*,⁴⁶ and that for the *Gloria patri*, etc., to be quoted pres-

reconstruction made with the aid of the abundant critical matter, which I owe to Father Livarius Olinger, O.F.M., who is preparing a modern edition. *Volunt dicere quidam fratres quod istud / preceptum Regulæ/ denotat officium divinum secundum ordinem sancte Romane ecclesie, secundum quod breviarium differt, scilicet breviarium nocturnum et diurnum. Unde volunt dicere quod utrumque breviarium, scilicet diurnum quod est missale, et nocturnum quod est horarum, respicit quod dicitur.*

44. This was composed by Haymo and confirmed by the Chapter of Bologna in 1242 or 43. The *Ordo* with the words *Indutus planeta sacerdos*. Cf. A. van Dijk, O.F.M., *Notae quaedam de liturgia franciscana mediante saeculo XIII* in EL, LIV, 1940, 140 ff.

45. See the description of the codex.

46. C. fol. XLIV-b: *Ab isto sabbato usque in sabbato sancto in nullis officiis dicitur Alleluia. neque in die neque in nocte. Sed in loco eius dicimus Laus tibi domine . . .*

ently under n° 4. Yet, since they are absent in "I" and the Franciscan breviaries before Haymo, they must be considered as interpolations. A supposition that such rubrics were inserted by the friars, or perhaps derived from the Curial manuscript from which C was copied, is immediately rejected by the following cases in which the rubrics obviously contradict those of the Curia.

3. The *Flectamus genua* during Lent was practiced in the Curia just as in the Lateran Basilica. It was the ancient Roman tradition for ferial Masses with several prophecies or lessons.⁴⁷ C however represents another custom, which, according to the explicit testimony of the Lateran *Ordo*, was said to be introduced by a Council of Orléans. The following texts are clear enough.

Ordo Officiorum Lateranensis Ecclesiae⁴⁸

quidam ab hac die usque in cena domini in omnibus missarum sollemnissimis *Flectamus genua* dicunt, dicentes se habere hoc ex concilio Aurelianensi. Sed nos antiquam Romanam consuetudinem retinentes non dicimus *Flectamus genua*, nisi quando plures prophetias ad missam legimus.

Codex San Damiano⁴⁹

Et notandum quod usque ad feriam. vi. maioris ebdomade ad primam orationem misse dicitur *flectamus genua*. Et post paululum dicit/ur/levate excepto in dominicis diebus quod/sic/ non dicitur.

Ordinarium Curiae⁵⁰

Sciendum quod ab hac die usque in cenam /sic/ domini. secundum romanam consuetudinem non dicimus *flectamus genua* nisi quando plures prophetias. ad missam legimus et tunc ad oratio — /nem/ dicitur *flectamus genua* et prophetic leguntur in modum lectionis, in ultima oratione dicitur. *Dominus vobiscum. oremus sine flectamus genua.*

47. Ralph of Tongres, *De canonum observantia*, prop. 23, in *Maxima bibliotheca Patrum* XXVI, Lugduni 1677, 315^b, blamed the friars without reason, observing that they abandoned a rite which he believed to be in accordance with the Roman Order: *Iuxta Romanum ordinem in missis quadragesimalibus post salutationem genua flectimus. Idem fit in utraque oratione feria quarta post palmas. Sed has genuflectiones fratres omitunt, quia in capella pape non sunt.*

48. Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris *Ordo Officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis* ed. L. Fischer in *Historische Froschungen und Quellen*, 2. und 3. Heft, München 1916, 28 f. n. 77.

49. C fol. LII^{r-a}. The rubric precedes immediately the Mass of Ash Wednesday.

50. I fol. 21^r. The rubric is missing in F (and C), suppressed, as not belonging to the breviary text, in the pre-Haymonian breviary, but still present in the pre-Haymonian missal, cod. Assisi, biblioteca comunale, n. 607, fol. 8r-b. It was corrected by Haymo in this way: *Quandocumque una prophetia vel plures dicuntur*

4. The breviary-missal of St. Clare gives a long title for the first lamentation in matins of Maundy Thursday. Neither "I" nor the Franciscan books exclude a title, but, if there was one, it would have been given explicitly by Haymo. Or perhaps he gave a title, which indeed is a very short one.⁵¹ Then again the rubric previously given in C before this title is not to be found in "I." The texts are as follows:⁵²

Absolutiones non dicuntur. In fine psalmi non dicitur. *Gloria patri.* sed statim incipitur antiphona. et ad responsoria similiter non dicitur *Gloria.* sed reinteratur a capite. loco *gloria.*

Incipiunt lamentationes ieremie prophete quod est in titulo enoch. cum absolutione litterarum hebraicarum. Et factum est postquam in captivitatem redactus est israel. et ierusalem deserta est. sedit ieremias flens. et planxit lamentationem hanc in ierusalem. et dixit Aleph. *Quomodo . . .*

5. On Easter Monday C prescribes a procession to the baptistry:⁵³

Ad vesperas . . . Oratio. *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui . . .* Alia oratio ad fontes. *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut festa paschalia. que venerando colimus . . .* Ad sanctum andream. oratio. *Deus qui populum tuum de hostis callidi servitute liberasti . . .*

Neither Innocent's Ordinary, nor the Franciscan books have this procession.⁵⁴ On the contrary, the general Chapter, probably that of Metz (1254), had to insist on the observance of only two liturgical processions, on Palm Sunday and Candlemas Day.⁵⁵ The Lateran Basilica certainly knew Easter processions, but curiously enough not on Monday.⁵⁶

6. The most evident indication of local influence is to be found in the litany of the Saints for Lent, which follows lauds on Ash Wednesday.⁵⁷ The names of the Saints are almost erased and re-

ante epistolam, ad orationem cuiuslibet prophetie absolute dicit sacerdos Oremus et diaconus, si in officio diaconatus serviat. Flectamus . . . and transposed to Wednesday in ember week of advent; *Ordo missalis, cod. Padua, biblioteca pontificia di Sant' Antonio, n. 104 (H), fol 52v-b.*

51. H fol. 19r-b: *Prima "lectio"* Incipit lamentatio Jeremie prophete aleph. Quomodo . . . But also, H fol. 19v-b: *Tres prime lectionis leguntur de lamentationibus Jeremie. lectio prima Cogitavit . . .*

52. C fol. Cr-b.

53. C fol CXXv-a. For the history of this procession cf. G. Morin, O.S.B., *Les vêpres pascales dans l'ancienne liturgie Romaine* in *Revue bénédictine VI*, 1889, 150-57.

54. Cf. *Etudes franciscaines* XLI, 1929, 105.

55. Cf. van Dijk, *Notae quaedam, loc. cit.*, 138.

56. Fischer, *op. cit.*, 88, n° 181.

57. C fol. Lv-a-LIV-a.

placed by those of the later Franciscan revision. Still, there remains enough to conclude that the original was entirely different from that of the Curia.⁵⁸ According to the custom of the Lateran Basilica,⁵⁹ it was very short—which indeed cannot be said of that in the papal court—and among the final versicles and prayers there was one *pro episcopo nostro*. N. The word *episcopo* is erased and rewritten by the friars who prayed *pro ministro nostro*. Yet, we must be grateful for the care of the corrector, who in both the versicle and the prayer erased no more letters than strictly necessary. He used the last letter of *episcopo* for the new *ministro*. Even the space available for the correction suggests that the original word was written in full.

After all this, the local origin of C can no longer be denied. The manuscript must be regarded from a different angle than heretofore. The insertions of the non-Franciscan parts are not made by the friars, because at that time they did not have as yet their own missal, but by a scribe, who combined a breviary founded on Innocent's Ordinary with the adapted breviary and ritual of the friars and the liturgy—especially missal—of his own church. C is a liturgical monument of an episcopal church where the liturgy of the Curia was introduced, when the friars had already accomplished their first liturgical activity.

Considering the strong Franciscan influence in C, it does not seem very difficult to make a suggestion about where the cathedral was. There is even in the litany an indication, though rather vague, but certainly not to be underestimated. Just before the invocation of St. John the Baptist, which is doubled according to the accompanying rubric of the Curia,⁶⁰ there is the following text:⁶¹—the corrections given in the manuscript are placed in brackets:

Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli. orate.
 S (Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines). ora.
 Sancte // //. ora.
 Sancte iacob. ora.

58. Cf. van Dijk, *The Litany of the Saints*.

59. Fischer, *op. cit.*, 31, n° 84: *dicimus VII penitentiales psalmos, post quorum finem dominus prior . . . dicit brevem litaniam . . .*

60. Cf. van Dijk, *The litany*, *loc. cit.* . . .

61. C fol. Lv-b

Evidently here were mentioned the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. I found their names also in an adapted pre-Haymonian litany of a 13th century psalter, probably the property of one of the confraternities of Assisi.⁶²

Some years after the compilation of Innocent's Ordinary (c.1220), the friars composed their own breviary (1223-28), which was soon followed by a ritual (1228-c.32). The necessary copies for the provinces were multiplied in a large *scriptorium*, probably in the Sacro Convento of Assisi.⁶³ This liturgical activity had not passed unobserved. The church of Assisi, immediately subject to the Holy See⁶⁴ and in close relation with the Roman Pontiff, took advantage of the work done by the friars, when a bishop wanted to reform the liturgy of the cathedral according to that of Innocent III. Yet, the Franciscan revisions as such could not serve directly as a model. The friars had eliminated from their breviary all ceremonies and *Ordines* for the greater solemnities. Therefore, the episcopal functions of the cathedral had to be taken from Innocent's Ordinary itself.

C reflects fully how this was done. A breviary of the Curia with rubrics of Innocent's Ordinary was taken as a starting point. It was however not copied entirely. First of all, it was slightly adapted for the use of a cathedral mainly by suppressions in the papal *Ordines*. Then, with the aid of the pre-Haymonian breviary of the friars, some more detailed points in the ordinary rubrics were changed. At the same time, or, what is more likely, after some practice, certain local usages crept in, replacing or completing the rubrics of this compilation.

Side by side with the new breviary the local missal, obviously Roman in character, was retained. Eventually its ancient rubrics, now obsolete, were suppressed and only the papal *Ordo* for Candlemas Day inserted in the Proper of the Saints.⁶⁵ It is difficult to

62. Cod. Assisi, biblioteca comunale, n° 601, fol. 58r; cf. van Dijk, *The litany loc. cit.* . . .

63. The existence of this *scriptorium* is clear from the codices Assisi, biblioteca comunale, n° 693 and 694. Cf. note 16, page 7.

64. Cf. P. Fabre—L. Duchesne, *Le "Liber censuum" de l'Eglise Romaine* in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 2e série, vol. VI, Paris 1905-20, Tom. I, 80 f.

65. C fol. CLXXVII^{r-a}. The *Ordo* is not complete, because of the preceding folio that is missing.

suggest, why in the Proper of the Season the missal has been inserted day by day in the breviary, whilst in the other parts, the Proper and the Common of the Saints, missal and breviary remained separate. Yet, the same tendency to combine can be observed in the Franciscan ritual, where the entire Office of the dead and the Mass *Rogamus* have been inserted.

In the same way as the local missal was retained, so were some local functions not to be found in the Franciscan adaptation, the blessing of Holy water, prayers for the dead, etc.

It is clear that in these circumstances C cannot date from the years 1227-29. This period, proposed by Cholat,⁶⁶ was based on:

- 1) the absence of the feasts of St. Elizabeth (canonized in 1235), St. Dominic (can. in 1234) and St. Anthony (can. in 1232);
- 2) the feast of St. Francis in the calendar, which occupies three lines and therefore was considered as a later addition made by the copyist (Brother Leo) himself;
- 3) the date 1227 which is to be found above the Easter table.

First of all, it may be pointed out that, because of Francis' name in the litany and the prayer *Satisfaciat* of the *Ordo commendationis animae*, C must be placed not only after the canonization of 1228, but also after the publication of this ritual. The date, however, of the latter is not quite certain. The breviary-missal of St. Clare and the pre-Haymonian breviary-antiphonal known as codex St. Anne and preserved in the friary of Munich (M) are the most ancient memorials of this ritual.⁶⁷ M was certainly written after 1232, but it is impossible to be more precise. In any case, the lessons of St. Francis date C later than 1229-31.⁶⁸ A few reflections on the arguments of Cholat will suffice to demonstrate their superficiality.⁶⁹

1. The absence of the three feasts above quoted constitutes a negative argument which Leroquais⁷⁰ has already shown to be of no value, not even for an approximate date.

66. *Op. cit.*, 42 f., 47 f. Cf. Andrieu, *L'Ordinaire*, *loc. cit.*, 233.

67. Cf. Le Carou, *op. cit.*, XI. ff.

68. Cf. J. H. Moorman, *The sources for the life of St. Francis of Assisi* in *Publications of the University of Manchester*. Historical series no 79, Manchester 1940, 67 f.

69. Similar arguments have been employed for the date of cod. M. Cf. Le Carou, *loc. cit.*

70. *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques de France I*, Paris 1934, XIV.

2. The second argument occupies a special position. If Cholat's observations are right, it must be admitted that the calendar in the beginning of the book was written before the canonization of St. Francis, whilst the last part of the codex was completed only after the publication of the ritual. For two reasons he thought that the note *Nativitas patris francisci ordinis fratrum minorum fundatoris et primi ministri*⁷¹ was an addition of the copyist himself; the red ink is slightly darker than that of the following *Octava beati francisci duplex festum*, and the writing occupies the three lines of October 4th, 5th, and 6th. Cholat's observations are correct, but not complete.⁷²

The red ink of the feast is darker, but the same as that of the feast immediately preceding—29th of September: *Dedicato sancti Michaelis archangeli*. The whole upper part of this page is written with a slightly darker red and, with as much justice as Cholat, one could say that the octave of St. Francis has been added later on.

The feast of St. Francis is written on three lines and Chalot reasoned as follows:⁷³ "qu'elle a été écrite après la rédaction complète du calendrier . . . Ces trois lignes, comme un grand nombre d'autres . . . avaient dû rester libres." This explanation, however, prescinds unduly from the general circumstances of a calendar in two columns as that of C. The scribe had to overcome the same difficulties encountered by the writer of the Breviary of St. Francis. Both had the problem of the very narrow space for feasts of two or more Saints. The scribe of C had, in addition, the extraordinary case of the 4th of October. In his calendar the difficulty occurs five times and was solved in this way:⁷⁴

/Iulii/

- 26 S. pastoris presbiteri et confessoris /martiris
- 27 S. pantaleonis martiris /maritris. et innocentij pape et
- 28 Ss. martirum nazarij et celsi et victoris pape et
- 29 Ss. martirum simplicij faustini. et beatricis sancti
- 30 Ss. martirum abdon et senen /felicis pape et martiris

/Sept./

- 13 prinani martirum
- 14 Exultatio /sic/ sancte crucis et sanctorum cornelij et cy—
- 15 S. nicomedis martiris

71. C fol. 1v-a. The argument has been repeated by Domenichelli in AFH I, 62.

72. The statement of Sabatier, *Speculum perfectionis*, ed cit., LXXXII, note 2, and Clop, *S. François*, loc. cit., f 65, is not correct.

73. Cholat, *op. cit.*, 43.

74. C fol. 1r-a, 7r-b, 7r-b, 7v-b.

/Oct./

- 7 S. marcij pape et // et sergij et bachi marcelli
 8 // et apulei martiris

/Nov./

- 10 S. triphonis et respicij martirum et nimphe virginis
 11 S. martini episcopi et confessoris / et sancti menne mart.

The examples show that the dates of the months with Golden numbers and Sunday letters were written straight off:⁷⁵ one date on every line. The possibility of longer texts was not taken into account. The scribe arranged such texts at the end of the previous or following lines. The feasts of the example quoted were never followed by a full open line. Only after the 4th of October were there such and the copyist used them entirely for the feast of St. Francis.⁷⁶

3. What then is to be said of the deceptive date 1227, written above the Easter table? Obviously it is not the manuscript that is dated, but the table: *Hic incipit tabula anni domini m.cc.xxvij.* And not all manuscripts with an Easter table of 1227 were written in that year!

The question is simple enough. The table under discussion is one of those, which for a certain period—in C, 1228-1323—indicates the precise date of Easter. In a system of black ciphers for the dates of March and red letters for those of April the ciphers were counted *mense exeunte*, i.e., backwards from March 31 (j for 31 March, ij for 30 March, etc.), the letters *mense intrante*, i.e., forwards (a for 1 April, b for 2 April, etc.).⁷⁷ The system is very simple and requires the indication of one single year to find the dates of the following years. Naturally the first year of the table was given, and sometimes, especially in longer tables, certain years in

75. Often they were written before the rest of the feasts. In this way the mistakes of dates became possible.

76. It does not seem impossible that even the text *Nativitas patris* etc., in the calendar is a characteristic of the pre-Haymonian liturgy, at least the same note is to be found also in the calendar of the pre-Haymonian breviary in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, no VI. E. 20; cf. AFH XXI, 244. For the study of the calendar of the Curia in the beginning of the 13th century it must be taken into account, that the remaining fragment of C's calendar may be pre-Haymonian. For the rest, the lack of documents renders it impossible to check this.

77. An instruction of how to use such tables is to be found in a missal of the Chapter library of Farli, quoted by F. A. Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis I*, Romae 1776, 60 (lib. I, cap. 3) *Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem magne ecclesie sancte Marie civitatis Austrie aqui. legensis diocesis.*

the table itself.⁷⁸ The title of C gives *anno domini* 1227. Easter Sunday in that year, was the 11th of April (1), but actually the first year of the table is .vj., that is the 26th of March, which corresponds to 1228. This difference cannot be reconciled by recourse to the "Pisan calculation," which seems to have been used in Assisi,⁷⁹ the 26th of March, 1228, according to that calculation was the second day of 1229. Thus, the solution is to be sought in the words *anno domini*, which must indicate the year in which the table was composed, instead of *anni domini*, the first year for which it actually served. Two other contemporary Franciscan breviaries with the same table confirm this point of view. The breviary-antiphonal of Munich (M) has twice the date of C, added by a later hand, and reads *anni domini*, which is an error. The primitive Franciscan breviary with strong pre-Haymonian influences, now in the Bodleian library of Oxford, Miscell. liturg. 248 (Sum.Cat. 19353) (O), has *anno domini m. cc. xxvij.*, which is the right year.

The table is arranged almost identically in the three manuscripts. Their dependence on a common prototype, probably coming from the scriptorium of Assisi, becomes evident in a very interesting way. Whilst the few variants can easily be recognized as slips of the pen and erroneous readings, the codices are almost unanimous in a series of mistakes, which are marked with an asterisk in the following transcription: *

Hic incipit tabula. anno domini m. cc. xxvij.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	[24]	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	v	x	y	z	[ce]	
vj	p	g	ix	l		c	z	g*	ij		t	d		vj*										Qualiter pasca
p	j	v		l*	c		q	b	ij*	t		d	v		p*									domini celebretur
j	v	m		v*	q		b	vij	m*	d	ce	i			j									ammonet presens
v	e	iiij		q*	b		vij	n	d*	ce	i	a			n*									linea.
e	iiij	r		a*	x		n	iij	r*	i	vij	o			e*									tamen provideas
iiij	k	b	x*	f		ijj	s	j*	vij		o	ff			z*									quod littere
k	b	y	f*	ijj		s	c	vij*	o	ij	t	k*												nigre assignantur
vj	p	g	ijj*	l		c	z		o	ij		t	l											marcio, rubre vero aprili.

78. So in the table of the cod. Padua, *biblioteca capitolare*, n° B 54; see further on, p. 42, note 80. Another example is to be found in the Franciscan *capitularium* of the beginning of the 14th century in the *biblioteca comunale* of Todi, n° 189; cf. V. Dijk, *Notae quaedam*, loc. cit. 132; *Il Carattere*, loc. cit. LIX, 188.

79. Cf. Sabatier, *Speculum perfectionis*, ed. cit. CCXII; P. Robinson, O.F.M. *Some chronological difficulties in the life of St. Francis* in AFH I, 23 ff.

* C fol. 2r, M fol. 5v; O fol. 7r. At the end of the table some of the mistakes differ more than one day.

- 1 m. cc. xxvij./m. cc. xxvij. O anno/anni M anno . . . / in M duabus vicibus
 m. p. atramento; In M tabula est in rubro colore
- 2-3 24 ce. /non in cod.; ambo lineae desunt in O
- 4 ix/x O z/in C m. p. exp. t/c O
- 5 ij* /j O, in C ij corr. in j
- 6 m/iiij M ce/e O ita infra
- 7 e/c M q*/in M corr.? in:r ..n*/y M, v O
- 8 r/k C M r*/1 M tamen/tm C
- 9 k/r O x*/x C f (n.5)/n C m. p.
- 10 k/r O y/p M j/s C
- 11 vj/in C m. p. exp.: v, alia manus corr. in c; vij M; ij O c/in C m. p.: *

The regularity with which the mistakes occur every fourth year reveals that they are connected with the reckoning of leap year. Easter was in these years one day later and in the table the errors are just the miscalculation of one day (*g* must be *h*: 8 April 1235; *vi* must be *v*: 27 March 1239; *l* must be *m*: 12 April 1243, etc.). However, the years are actually not the leap years, but the ones immediately preceding; the leap years are 1228, 1232, 1236, 1240, 1244, etc. There may be more than one explanation for these errors, but it is unnecessary to enter into this question here. It is already clear enough that the author was not very well at home with his subject and the proof of this may have been the reason why the table was not copied into many pre-Haymonian codices.

What relation can there be between an Easter table of 1228 and the manuscript in which it is found? The easiest way to show this is perhaps by an example from other codices. The Easter table of the Franciscan breviary in the Chapter library of Padua, B 54, ranges from 1235 to 1770.⁸⁰ According to the inaccurate arguments for the date 1227-29 of C, this manuscript should have been written shortly after 1235. The codex, however, belongs to the beginning of the 14th century and the year 1308, added in the margin of the table is much nearer to the date of the codex than 1235.

The Franciscan martyrologies of Paris, Rome, Vatican library, Vatican. lat. 4774⁸¹ and of Mende, City library, 1,⁸² have in the

80. Fol. 7r. The table has been published by R. Zanocco, *L'Officio di santi Antonio nei codici della Capitolare di Padova* in *Le Venezie francescane I*, 1932, fasc. 4 (Dicembre).

81. Cf. H. Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici bibliothecae apostolicæ Vaticanæ manu-scripti*, Friburgi Brisgoviae 1897, 180; in the codex fol. 2^r and 2^v.

82. Cf. Chlod. Brunel, *Necrologium conventus mimatensis O.F.M. Conv.*, in *Analecta tranciscana VI*, 6.; in the codex fol. 36^r

introduction, *Sciendum est quod qualibet littera alphabeti. que in hoc martirologio . . .*, the following passage, in both manuscripts marked with the date 1254 by the copyist himself:⁸³ *Si autem scire volueris in quocumque die anni quota pronuntianda sit luna: vide quotus sit ciclus. Si sit unus sive primus ut in anno presenti m.cc.liij. tunc numerum quem sub.A. reperies . . .* The codices date from the end of the 13th century. The first folio in the Vatican codex contains a copy of a document to hang on the paschal candle, written not before 1286 by the hand that wrote the rest of the manuscript:⁸⁴

Annus ab origine mundi	vm. cccc. lxxxv
Annus ab incarnatione domini	m. cc. lxxxvj
Littera dominicalis	F.
Terminus pasche	pridie idus aprilis
Dies ipsius	x° viij° kal. maij
Prima dominica adventus	kalendis decembris
Dies natalis domini	feria iiij
Annus ab obitu sancte clare	xx //
Annus a canonisatione eiusdem	x //
Annus pontificatus domini pape honorij	j
Annus nativitatis philippi regis francorum	//////

The martyrology of Mende paleographically is contemporary with the Ordinaries of Haymo copied into the same manuscript. These are to be placed after the general Chapter of 1299, since one of its statutes has already entered into the text of the *Ordo breviarii*.⁸⁵

The result is obvious. No conclusion can be drawn from the date of an Easter table in favor of the codex itself. Therefore, neither can C be dated by its table.

83. The same treatise is to be found in the Dominican Ordinary of Humbert de Romans. L. Rousseau, O.P., *De ecclesiastico Officio Fratrum Praedicatorum* extract from the *Analecta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* XIX, 1926-27, 53, supposes that Humbert is the author of it—*quod probandum*—and that the date 1254 indicates the year of the composition. The Dominican martyrology in cod. Vatican., Galatin. 836 has the same treatise. The codex dates from 1426; cf. Ehrensberger, *op. cit.*, 183.

84. A facsimile of this document is given in B. Kattenbach, A. Pelzer, C. Silva-Tarvoka, *Exempla scripturarum edita consilio et opera procuratorum bibliothecae et tabularii Vaticani*, fasc. I. *Codices latini saeculi XIII*, Romae 1929, tabula 27, 28.

85. Fol. 126r-a; cf. v. Dijk, *Notae quaedam*, loc. cit., 128, n° 77.

A more reliable indication is to be found in the *Bidding Prayers* of Good Friday and in the *Exsultet* of Holy Saturday:⁸⁶

Oremus et pro beatissimo papa nostro. G. utdeus . . .

Precamur ergo te domine ut nos famulos . . . una cum venerabili papa nostro. G. quiete temporum concessa . . .

The G here refers to the reigning Pope Gregory IX, the friend of St. Francis and formerly Cardinal Protector of his Order. Yet, once again his long pontificate—March 21, 1227, till August 22, 1241,—makes exact determination of C impossible. If the lessons of St. Francis and the Franciscan ritual take away three or four years from the beginning of this period, there still remains a whole decade (1231-1241), during which C could have been written.⁸⁷

Further attempts to determine these years do not go beyond mere probability. The bishop of Assisi, who introduced the new reform of Innocent III with the aid of the pre-Haymonian breviary, cannot have been one of the Franciscans who ruled that diocese almost uninterruptedly from 1247 onwards.⁸⁸ A suggestion, however, that C was composed in the last years of Gregory IX's pontificate does not seem too far fetched. There is at the end of C, an *Ordo ad benedicendum mensam*, which is a not too correct copy of Haymo's revision made together with his Ordinaries in 1243-44.⁸⁹ The *Ordo* in C is certainly a later addition, yet, it is not only just slightly later, but could be even in the hand of the copyist who wrote the volume. With another pen and different ink, handwriting often changes very much. In any case, the similarity between this addition and the rest of the codex is much greater than that between C and the hand of Brother Leo, as it is preserved in the few notes written on the Blessing of St. Francis.⁹⁰

In this connection, moreover, it may be useful to insist once more on the judgment of Faloci-Pulignani about the difference between the handwritings of C and Brother Leo. A superficial comparison

86. C fol. CVI^r-b; fol. CIX^v-b.

87. It may be noticed that in the Easter table of C and M the year 1231 should have been given as x., at least according to the misreckoning, which indeed is still to be found in O. Is that a confirmation of the conclusion that C and M were written after 1231? In that case the absence of correction in the following years could be considered as a sort of *terminus ante quem*.

88. Cf. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica Medii Aevi I*, Monasterii 1913, 112.

89. Cf. van Dijk, *Il carattere*, loc. cit., LX, 329 ff., 359.

90. Cf. A Cresi, O.F.M., *La benedizione di fra Leone scritta da San Francesco alla Verna* in *La Verna XI*, 1913, 110 ff.

is not sufficient to reveal the differences. Both handwritings belong to the same period and district. They show the characteristics of the Central Italian hands, which still lacked the perfection of the Gothic breaking of the strokes. The general impression that I got from frequent comparison is: that C was written by an expert copyist with a steady hand. Though his characters are very small in size, they are extremely regular, so far as the Italian style allows, very close together and always joined up. The writing as such seems to have a tendency to slant to the left. Leo's hand betrays the man who understood the art of writing, but was not used to it. His letters are irregular both in size and placing. They are rather clumsy with a great deal of space between them and show a slight slant to the right.

Some points of detail confirm the general impression, though the shortness of Leo's notes limits the field of observation. C uses two sorts of a: the more ancient Carolingian with the upper stroke very small or even missing, and the more Gothic form with a clear, open, round stroke. All intermediate forms between these extremes occur frequently. Leo's handwriting shows only the typical Gothic a. The open stroke is so large as to be rather exceptional for C.

The two forms of "d" in C are either the round one with the upper stroke closing the half circle of the lower part in an almost horizontal direction, or the older straight d, where the top of the vertical stroke starts off with a thin line at the left of the stroke. None of these types is to be seen on the Blessing of St. Francis. Leo's "d" has the upper stroke bent to the left at an angle of about 60° and it shows a tendency to be curled.

The scribe of C wrote three forms of "s." The final s is in two round forms: that with a small upper eye and a long bent stroke continuing below the line is the most frequent. The long "s" is robust, the eye is small and bent immediately after the breaking. In Leo's writing there is no final "s" at all, whilst the long one is feeble. The upper part continues to the right after the breaking, then it curves weakly.

C has two forms of "g", distinguished by the under stroke. This is either closed and connected directly with the eye, forming practically an 8, or it remains somewhat open and is then closed by a thin line. Leo wrote a quite different "g" with a curled under stroke directed to the left.

The abbreviation for the final *us* is in C joined with the last letter and not more than a half circle. It has never the form of a 9, which is to be found in the Blessing, where it is written also above the letter and detached from it.

All these things show the profound difference between the two writings. The tradition, therefore, must be founded upon a confusion of the breviary-missal of St. Clare and the authentic breviary of St. Francis, where indeed some additions have been made by Brother Leo.

The tradition that the codex was used by St. Clare may be due to her name, in a 13th century hand, on the verso of the last leaf: {C}laras de civitatis asiscensis [sic]. It seems, however, a mere note to try the pen.

The opinion that the codex was given to the Poor Clares of San Damiano, before they moved to the new convent in Assisi (c. 1260), could be supported by the supposition that the additions of the feminine form of address, between the lines of the text of the Franciscan ritual for the last Sacraments (*Ordo commendationis animae*) were made by the nuns. However, it seems unlikely that, if such were the case, they would have left the precious book to the friars who took over the house.

This argument is weakened by the fact that in the first Class *Rogamus*, fol. CCIII ff., the copyist himself wrote already some plural forms of address. So the additions of the feminine form in the ritual are not necessarily to be considered as made by the nuns.

It can then be concluded that the so-called Breviary of St. Clare is made up of three elements: the ordinary (and breviary) of Innocent III, the pre-Haymonian (Franciscan) liturgy and the local missal of Assisi. It was written in the years 1231-41, probably rather at the end of this period, when a bishop of Assisi reformed the liturgy of the cathedral of San Rufino. Later on, the book was given to the friars of San Damiano after they had taken over from the Poor Clares, when the latter moved to the new convent of St. Clare.

(To be continued)

A. VAN DIJK, O.F.M.

*Greyfriars,
Oxford.*

INTUITION AND ABSTRACTION

THE FOLLOWING remarks have been suggested to me by the study of Dr. Sebastian Day's, O.F.M., work *Intuitive Cognition, A Key to the Significance of the Later Scholastics* (Franciscan Inst. Publ., Phil. Ser., No. 4, 1947). The author refers repeatedly to some articles of mine, critically but generously. He does me the honor to consider my ideas as representative of Neo-Thomism. I do not hold a brief either for St. Thomas or his disciples, and my reply is, therefore, not in the name of this school, but exclusively in my own.

However, I do not think that a purely polemic answer is very helpful; the idea to refute, if I am able to do so, point by point the statements of the author does not appeal to me. That I disagree with him on many and very fundamental points, is natural; were it not so, he would not have singled out my studies as a point of departure for his criticism. Simply to restate my opinions would be repetitious and not advance the discussion. It seems to me that it would be better to raise some questions, to refer to some facts, and to draw certain conclusions independently of the reasonings so ably worked out by Dr. Day.

There are chiefly two questions concerning which I wish to submit some considerations. (1) What does psychology or our understanding of intellectual operations profit, when we admit that the intellect is capable of intuiting particulars? (2) Are there any facts available which render this proposition untenable and force us either to return to the Thomistic position, that is to crediting the intellect with abstractive knowledge only, or to devise a third interpretation, better able to *salvare apparentia* and, at the same time, to avoid the admittedly existing difficulties of the Thomistic conception?

The discussion of these two questions will allow for incidental comments on one or the other of Dr. Day's statements which I believe to be erroneous.¹

1. I sincerely hope that Dr. Day will accept my remarks, even where they flatly contradict his position, in the same spirit in which he rightly supposed that I would read his criticisms.

Before proceeding however with this discussion, I should like to comment briefly on a point of a more general nature.

As quoted above, Dr. Day's work stresses the "significance of later Scholastics". He also mentions that I have, when analyzing the Thomistic theory of intellectual knowledge of particulars, not made any reference to the views of these later Schoolmen, especially to that of Ockham. He is of course right; but I dealt there only with such conceptions with which St. Thomas himself is concerned, and views which appeared after his time seemed not to be pertinent. Dr. Day contrasts the philosophies of Duns Scotus and of Ockham with that of St. Thomas. This is obviously a legitimate procedure since philosophies may be envisioned in themselves and insofar as they are outside of historical time. Usually, account is taken of an eventual dependence of a philosopher on the knowledge of his age only insofar as factual knowledge influences his particular views. Thus, the defects of Aristotelian-Scholastic physics are understood as resulting from the state of physical knowledge as it existed then. The historians of ideas, at least many of them, have abandoned the attitude of contempt which the more "progressive" minds of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century used to adopt; they have come to realize that the greatness of a philosophical conception is not dependent on the extent of factual knowledge. They also are aware of the precariousness of a position which would consider as final the state of knowledge as it exists momentarily.² But when setting over against one philosophy of a later time to one preceding it, one has to take account of the changes the general mentality of the age had undergone.

Until the time of Aquinas, and at his time, the notion prevailed that the universal or general is endowed with a higher dignity than the particular. This had been, on the whole, the attitude of all ancient philosophers. It is evidenced in Plato's opposition of "opinion" and "truth" or "knowledge". It is back of the endeavors to attain clarity concerning the "existence" of the universals, that is, the conflict between "realism" and "nominalism". It has not even disappeared today; the preference given to "scientific" knowledge in

2. It is amusing to read utterances of like intent in works written long ago. E.g., *Guilielmus Parisiensis*, speaking of one of his predecessors says, more or less: poor man, of course he was wrong, since he had not yet knowledge of the existence of the empyreuma.

contrast to all other forms; the idea that there is no real knowledge but that attained by scientific procedures, is more than reminiscent of this preference of the universal over the particular. *Scientia est de universalibus.* The goal of scientific endeavor is the discovery of the universally valid law. And the desire of science to reach laws of an ever greater generality may be traced back to the same basic attitude which animated ancient and medieval speculation.

There is, however, one great difference between the "modern" and the old spirit. The former, though aiming at the discovery of universal laws, starts from the concrete particular and returns there for verification of its general propositions, whereas prior ages, all Aristotelian empiricism notwithstanding, were somewhat contemptuous of the particular fact.

The late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries saw a great change developing. The emphasis shifted from the universal to the particular. The way problems were envisioned became different.³ It is, therefore, not quite just to criticize an author of an older age for not having considered a viewpoint which, according to the general intellectual attitude of his time, he could not envision. Nor is it quite just to credit an author of a later time with a discovery he could not have made—if one may indulge in such a phantasy—had he lived a century earlier. To be Ockham, one needs not only Ockham's mind, one must also live at Ockham's time.

It is an interesting question to ask what factors have brought about the shift of emphasis from the universal to the particular, a process which prepared the way for the rising of science and the decay of philosophical speculation; the latter, because the influence of Ockham notwithstanding, philosophy did not go along with the development of the general spirit. This is, however, a topic not to be discussed here.⁴

There is another general problem concerning which a few words should be said before entering into the special inquiry, if for no other reason than to introduce the argument to be presented here.

3. The remarks made above may sound rather dogmatic. I realize that they are in need of ample confirmation by historical facts. I cannot, of course, attempt any further discussion of these matters.

4. Much valuable information on this point may be found in H. Heimsoeth, *Die sechs grossen Themen der abendländischen Metaphysik*, 2d. ed. Berlin, 1934.

Dr. Day seems, if I am right, to conceive of a philosophical system as a context of propositions which follow strictly from some few axioms, as a system of mathematics can be thus developed.⁵ It is, however, questionable whether this conception of a philosophic system is admissible.

First, one may doubt whether the term of a system can be applied with justice to the philosophy of St. Thomas or any other of the Schoolmen. To be sure, none of them has created a system comparable to those, say, of Hegel or another philosopher of recent times. It may be that the notion of a "system", in the modern sense, was unknown to the thinkers of the past, and that we have no right to regret the absence of a thoroughgoing systematization in the writings of either Plato, or Aristotle, or Aquinas. It might be that the modern notion of a system could develop only after the certainty had vanished that the mind is able to apprehend the totality of being as it is in itself. A system may be the expression of an attempt to re-construct reality in the human mind, to project, as it were, the imperfectly knowable order of reality on the plane of reason, or—as in the futile but nonetheless grandiose enterprise of Hegel—to evolve the whole of reality out of the subjectivity of the "spirit" as it manifests itself in the human mind.

It is perhaps, wrong to apply the criteria of systematic context to philosophies which were ignorant of the notion of a system in the modern sense. On the other hand, the manifest absence of systematic structure does not necessarily show that it cannot be discovered back of the ideas of such a non-systematic thinker. But a system is not necessarily one of the types realized in mathematics. It is, therefore, difficult to state which one of the first principles or the "axiomatic" propositions, the validity of which is taken for granted, has the right of precedence over the others. It is customary to view the doctrines of potency and act, and of matter and form as the two fundamental principles in Aristotelian philosophy. But one might consider that the preference for the universal is still more fundamental. Also, it is hardly possible to decide whether the principle

5. Cf. the work of, e.g., Peano, on which see E. Landau, *Grundlagen der Analysis*, reprint, New York, 1946; or the discussions on the foundations of geometry, which were started by the doctrine of Hilbert on "axiomatic thought" on one hand and the notion of "intuitive mathematics" in Brouwer's works on the other.

of potency-act precedes that of matter-form, or whether the opposite relation obtains.

I mention this, because Dr. Day, in one passage, feels that St. Thomas is guilty of a *circulus in arguendo*, and because I shall have to return to this question of the primacy of principles later. Concerning, however, the reproach of circularity, one might point out that to assume several "axioms" of equal dignity does not entail any such circularity, even if these axioms support one another to a certain extent.

* * * * *

Dr. Day's contention, as the able exponent of Ockham's ideas that he is, claims that the intellect does not know only by way of abstraction, and hence universals, but is also cognizant of particulars by way of intuition. This intuitive knowledge has no need of a mediating *species intelligibilis*; it is immediate, a direct contact of knowing intellect and known object.

If, however, one asks, how intuitive knowledge of any sort, and especially on the part of the intellect, is possible, one does not receive a clearcut answer. Also, it seems difficult to me to understand what is the precise meaning of immediacy.

One might indeed argue that the same difficulty arises also in regard to a theory of intellectual knowledge which appeals only to abstraction, and assumes the mediation by means of a *species intelligibilis*. Whether mediate or immediate, the manner by which the intellect becomes cognizant of any object, universal or particular, or the manner by which the object is conveyed to the intellect, remains ultimately mysterious in either of the two theories. Then, the question is not to arrive at a perfect elucidation, but to determine which theory accords best with the observable facts and offers the simplest explanation. (Although one ought to beware of the idea that simplicity is, as such, already an asset; it may well be that reality is in itself too complex as to allow for an adequate rendering in a simple theory.)

The Thomistic conception of intellectual knowledge rests, according to Dr. Day, primarily on the "axiomatic" supposition that *intellectus est de universalibus, sensus autem de particularibus*. It seems to me, however, that one cannot well attribute to this propo-

sition the rank of an axiom; it is rather dependent on and rests on one of greater generality. The latter is the principle that there must exist some connaturality between any agent and that acted upon. *Omne ens agit sibi simile.* Which reads, when applied to cognition: *similia similibus cognoscuntur.* This principle can be traced back to Empedocles with whom it appears in the still rather crude form, that man knows the element "earth" and the things consisting of it in virtue of the earthly parts of his being, and so also with the other three elements. The special reference to the elements can be abandoned; the notion relevant here is that some such connaturality has to exist for rendering possible any "affection" of a mental power by an object.

It is here irrelevant whether the principle of individuation is seen in matter, or in the *forma haecceitatis*, or whether individuation is rejected altogether, the particular being envisioned as the only existent and the problem viewed rather as that of generalization or production of the universal. The only relevant point is that the particular things we encounter in *statu viae* are material things, and that to know them as they are we have to know them in their materiality. Hence, in virtue of the principle referred to above, these things can be known only by a power which is itself material or, at least, somehow implies materiality. Materiality can be known only by materiality; and without knowing of its materiality we would not know the thing at all. The principle: *intellectus est de universalibus*, etc., is not a primary supposition, but derived from the principle of connaturality. So far as the notion of intellectual knowledge of universals and the sensory knowledge of particulars is concerned, the reproach of a circular reasoning seems therefore unfounded.

That the material thing is apprehended in the fullness and concreteness of its being by the senses is no point of controversy. The disagreement consists in whether this sensory knowledge of particulars is an exclusive property of the senses, or is shared also by the intellect.

It seems that the intellect has to know *about* particulars. But it is possible to question that it has to know particulars; knowing about and knowing is not the same thing. I shall try to show that it is not necessary for an explanation of certain intellectual performances to

assume that the intellect knows particulars and knows them more or less in the same manner as the senses.

The senses know (or the mind knows in virtue of sensory operations) the particular thing in the concreteness of the thing's being, that is, with all knowable accidental properties and in its materiality.

It is doubtful whether the notion of a *forma haecceitatis*, as individualizing principle, can obviate the difficulties the assumption of a complete and concrete knowledge of particulars encounters when credited to the intellect. This form may well furnish a knowledge of particularity, singularity of the thing, but it is not easy to see how it can be a basis of a knowledge of materiality. This point need not be studied here, however, because knowledge of forms, whether specific or individual, has to be by way of abstraction, and the controversial theory denies the necessity of abstraction and claims an immediate, intuitive knowledge on the part of the intellect.

As has been remarked before, this theory discards the *species intelligibilis* altogether. The intellect is supposed to reach out to the object, or the object is supposed to be present to the intellect without the mediation of any *species*. What the nature of this immediacy is, remains obscure.

Sensory cognition depends evidently on some demonstrable modification of the organism taking place; this modification is said to be a psychophysical change, because objectively there are alterations in the sense-organs and the nervous apparatus connected with them, and because subjectively we are aware of something "happening" to us; there is no doubt that we experience the sensible object as affecting our mind, as intruding into it, as exercising some sort of activity of which we are the more or less passive *terminus ad quem*. Since the sensed object is not directly "in touch" with the receptive organs, a mediation between the former and the latter is necessary.⁶

This mediation is effected by the impact of physical energy on the sense-organ. The existence of bodily changes in the receptory organs is an assured fact of physiology; it has been evident already

6. Even in the case of "touch" there is no direct contact of the sensed object and the receptory organ, and what actually releases tactal sensation is not the object itself, but the deformation of the skin resulting from pressure. Likewise, warmth and cold are not sensed by the warm or cold object contacting the organs of thermoesthesia, but by the flow of warmth from or towards these end-organs through the skin.

before experimental analysis became possible. Today, we know much about these changes and are able to follow them from the peripheral organ into the nervous cortical centers. Whatever the relation of these nervous apparatus to our conscious awareness of the thing, it is clear that it is not the latter which reaches these centers and by their alteration enables the mind to become cognizant of the thing; what reaches the centers has no "likeness" to the object, but stand to it in a one-to-one correlation.⁷

It is a mistake to believe that the "image" created in the sensory apparatus has to be understood as a "portrait" of the object. This misleading interpretation is suggested by certain vivid memory-images, be it of sight or of hearing. But there are many such memory images which are very incomplete, show no physical similarity whatsoever with the object they "re-present", and are nonetheless perfectly sufficient for letting the mind deal with things not actually present.

The mind is not conscious of these bodily alterations; it does not know of the processes going on in the retina of the eye or the organ of corti in the ear. It is not more conscious of the processes released in the centers. These bodily changes are truly the *id quo* and not the *id quod* which is known. They mediate somehow between the *res extra* and our knowledge thereof. As far as I can see, there is no fundamental difference between the Thomistic theory of sensory awareness and that based on the results of modern experimental investigation. The one can be translated into the other.

Sensory awareness is envisioned as the prototype of intuitive knowledge. Through the senses we know of the self-presence of a thing. The term intuition itself is taken from sense experience. The senses tell us—under average conditions—that a concrete thing is self-present and presented: this is the essence of intuitive cognition.

7. We might make use of a notion which has been suggested by W. Koehler in a different context. Koehler, to build a physiological theory of *Gestalt*-awareness assumes an "isomorphism" of the configurated object on one hand and the distribution of cortical changes on the other. It is not here the question whether this notion achieves what its inventor supposes. Nor need we accept it in just the same sense as it is conceived. But we may well speak of an isomorphism between the object, the changes wrought by the physical energy emanating from the object in the sense-organ first, in the nervous apparatus then. I have explained on other occasions that this is precisely the meaning of *imago* and *similitudo* as the Scholastics understand these terms.

There can be, therefore, no incompatibility of intuitive knowledge on one hand and mediation of such knowledge on the other. In other words, if it were possible—provided one had sufficient reasons therefore—to maintain the existence of intellectual intuition and nonetheless, at the same time, admit some sort of mediation, that is the efficacy of a *species*. This seems to have been, at least implicitly, the idea of some medieval "Realists" when they draw a parallel between sensory cognition of particulars and intellectual cognition of universals. As the senses intuit the former, so the intellect the latter, which are conceived as existent realities. But we are not concerned here with the question of an intuitive knowledge of universals nor with that of their ontological status.

It seems inevitable that one assume some link in-between the particular and the knowing power, whether this be sensory or intellectual. Neither here nor there can the object be as such present in the knowing power. It must be somehow "represented"; something has to take the object's place in the cognitive context, so that this context and the thing therein become a true *similitudo* of reality. To be present or presented *to* a mental power is not the same thing as to be present *in* this power.

We are not conscious of such a "representative" of the thing (or, for that matter of any other content of intellectual knowledge); we know only the thing or, generally speaking, the "object" of our intellectual performance. Nonetheless, the existence of such a "representative" must be postulated. This something mediates between the trans-subjective datum and the cognitive awareness thereof. It is truly the *id quo* we know; it is never the *id quod*. Insofar there is a strict analogy of sensory and intellectual cognition. This analogy is not suggested, as some think, by a desire for "symmetry" or systematic architectonics; it is imposed by the facts themselves.

If the foregoing reasoning is correct, and one must assume some sort of mediation for sensory as well as for intellectual knowledge in any case, the question arises what the nature of such a mediation might be which establishes a relation between the intellect and the particular. One has to bear in mind, as I pointed out before, that to "know" the particular implies that it be presented to the knowing power in the fullness of its being, that is, in its materiality.

The mediation between particular known and knowing intellect cannot be of the same kind as on the level of sensory cognition. This would amount to an incomprehensible duplication of cognitive performances, and also entail that the same effect—namely the intuitable self-presence of the object—would result in two powers which *per definitionem*⁸ differ from one another. Since the effect of an agent depends on the agent and on that on which it acts, the difference of intellect and sense renders an identity of effect impossible. Therefore, any identification of sensible and intellectual species becomes likewise impossible.

From the preceding discussion one can, I believe, conclude that there has to be (1) a mediating something establishing the relation of cognition between knowing intellect and known object not less necessarily than on the level of sensory cognition, and that this mediating something might as well be named a *species intelligibilis*; (2) that this species cannot be the same, either numerically or generically, in both instances.

But how is one to conceive of such a mediation between the material particular and the intellect? All influence the former can exercise on the organism is necessarily also of the material order; it is physical energy and the transformation wrought by it in the bodily sense-organs. I see no way by which an affection of the intellect by the material object can be imagined.

The human organism, however, is a psychophysical being; the union of mind and body allows for a simultaneous affection of the bodily organs and of the mental powers. Reference to this has been made before; the *species sensibilis impressa* is a psychophysical alteration. The only possibility of establishing a relation of the *res extra* and the intellect is through the mediation of those changes wrought by the impact of energy first and "expressed" in the sensory power then, as the percept and the corresponding phantasm.⁹

8. *Per definitionem*: since the intellect is credited with the capacity of abstraction and generally viewed as "higher" than the sense, the difference is acknowledged. If it were not, the reference by Dr. Day to the need of attributing to the intellect *eminenter* what the lower power can achieve, would become meaningless.

9. It would need too long a discussion were I to refer to the notion of an abstractive activity on the sensory level. It is not to be denied that the partial "stripping" of material conditions or the relative dematerialization of the thing, when the phantasm is formed, is in a way an analogy to abstraction s.str. But it is not more than an analogy.

But the phantasm too is material, even if less so than the thing in reality. The product of sensory performances cannot enter more into the intellect than the material thing. The difficulties the idea of intellectual intuition encounters are the same were one to try to make the intuited object the phantasm. Of these difficulties I have spoken to some extent in an article published some years ago. I need not take up this question again.

But then, the only way out seems to be the assumption that something "happens" to the thing as it presented or represented in the mind, or rather within the whole human being. What happens to the *species sensibilis expressa*, the percept or the phantasm, is described in a manner too well-known to be described here again, by the theory of abstraction, the function of the *intellectus agens*, and so on.

This theory stands, of course, not by itself; it is most closely related to various tenets of Thomistic philosophy. When it is asserted that the product of abstractive activity is the universal, it is presupposed that something like a universal nature is rightly assumed. It is also presupposed that this universal nature is in a certain sense separable from the particular being in which it resides, separable obviously not on the level of the *res extra*, but of the representatives of these as they emerge from the process of sensory cognition by which the knowing mind "makes its own", as it were, the object whose existential concreteness never can enter into or become part of the mind.

One can conceive of other theories, especially if one abandons the principle of an essential difference between rational and subrational powers. If one places oneself on the standpoint of many contemporary psychologists and assumes that there is a continuity, first from the merely sensory forms of awareness to the conceptual operations, and second, that there is correspondingly a continuity from animal to human organization, including the mental powers, then one may easily affirm that there is neither any fundamental difference of sensory cognition of the particular and intellectual cognition of either the particular or the universal. The whole difference, then, dwindles to one of looking at the same object under varying angles, and it may be described as an effect of attention. One time, I focus on the thing in its concrete wholeness, another

time on a partial aspect, e.g., its color, a third time on what it shares of properties with other things.¹⁰ Such a view can be maintained, if one abandons the idea that the universal is something, in one sense or the other. Nominalism, in one of its shades, leads ultimately to such views. I am afraid that the blurring of the differences between intellectual, rational performances, *actus humani*, and those which are common to man and animal, *actus hominis*, and all the consequences resulting from such failure to discriminate, can be obviated only if at least a minimum of realism, in the medieval sense, is retained. Because of such consequences, many of which have actually resulted in the history of ideas, I believe that all efforts ought to be made for upholding this minimum of realism.

Dr. Day generously recognizes that I have not tried to diminish the difficulties inherent in the Thomistic notion of the intellectual knowledge of particulars. I have attempted to indicate a solution, differing somewhat from that usually proposed, without giving up the basic principles of Thomistic philosophy. It seemed to me that there is no need for the intellect to know the particular in precisely the same manner as the sensory powers know it, because another sort of knowledge apparently suffices to enable the intellect to perform all the acts proper to this power.

The suggested solution appeals to the curious and not yet sufficiently studied of awareness of "boundaries". There is no problem in knowing the boundaries between two equally known things or classes as such. But the problem arises in its gravity the moment we consider it under the angle implied, for instance, in the question raised by Kant: what are the boundaries of human reason? How can reason determine its own boundaries without, at the same time, transcending them and laying hands, as it were, on the unknowable? When Kant speaks, in the *Prolegomena*, of the "thing in itself" as a "limit-notion" of reason, he implies that reason has some capacity to look beyond its own boundaries. I have referred to Nic. Hart-

10. It should be noted that, in virtue of such implicit notions, some psychologists use the term "abstraction" in a sense rather different from that usual in Thomism or in Scholasticism in general. They name abstraction any mental process by which a partial aspect is made object of mental activity. Thus, they speak of an "abstraction of similarity", referring to the awareness of likeness in various presented objects under conditions (e.g., very short time of exposure) which do not allow for an adequate apprehension of all features of the objects. It were false to criticize these men for misunderstanding the nature of abstraction; they simply speak of a different set of facts.

mann's remark that the "transintelligible must possess a minimum of intelligibility", because otherwise we could not speak, let alone conceive of it. But it cannot be denied that to refer to the transintelligible is a meaningful statement. The study of Dr. Day offers a welcome opportunity to return to this subject.¹¹

First, I have to submit a question, which at first sight may seem rather shocking because it assumes the questionability of a position which is, so far as I can see, generally taken for granted. But it behoves the philosopher to envision as potentially questionable also, and even particularly, the things which are taken for granted, thought obvious, or labelled self-evident. One has always to bear in mind that we may take for granted things without cogent reasons and view them as evident, although they are anything but that; they are only things to which we are accustomed; they are "obvious" only in the sense that we come across them continuously, and therefore neglect to inquire into the *quaestio iuris* as well as the *quaestio facti*.

I ask: Is it true that the intellect knows the particular as such and in such a manner that its knowledge becomes comparable to that of the senses? Is the intellectual knowledge of the particular a knowledge of it in its concreteness and the fullness of its being?

The main reason for taking for granted this sort of intellectual knowledge seems to be the fact that our mind forms judgments of which the grammatical subject is a particular: Socrates is a man; this thing there is a cat. It is supposed that the intellect to arrive at such a proposition must have present both the particular subject and the universal predicate. Hence, the intellect has to know the particular, and must possess a knowledge thereof more or less of the same nature as the knowledge the senses have, because otherwise the intellect could not refer to an actually present thing (this thing there). In such an instance, it seems, the intellectual knowledge must comprise the object (particular) in the fullness and concreteness of the latter's existence. If, however, I form a judgment on Socrates, who is not present *hic et nunc*, the knowledge of the particular might be, if one may say so, an attenuated one, distant and different from that of the senses, when these are placed face to face with the living man Socrates. The mental operation, by which I

11. Although I have not changed my views on this point, one will easily understand that they appear to me today in a somewhat different light. And I believe that I have made a little progress towards the elucidation of this obscure question.

now think the proposition concerning Socrates need not be the same as it was in the mind of an Athenian contemporary of the sage, encountering him on the streets of his city. One might argue, however, that this difference in the manner of intellectual knowledge (in the case of Socrates as set over against "this thing there") is merely apparent and resulting from the simple fact that our knowledge of Socrates is rather poor. It will be, however, more to the point if another pair of intellectual performances is considered.

Seeing the cat, I say: This thing is a cat. But I may think of the cat also when the animal is not present. I talk to someone about my cat; then what I mean is rendered (although never expressed in so complete and so complicated a manner) by: The thing I could point out to you, were you to come home with me, and which I now recall, is a cat. I cannot discover any difference in the intellectual or judgmental operations in these two instances. All the difference that exists, is not in the intellect or its operations but in the total mental situation as it develops in the one and in the other case. I believe that one may perfectly distinguish between what I may call for the moment the sensory (perceptual, respectively imaginative) component and the intellectual judgmental operation. The difference, then, is not in the latter but founded on the introspective evidence that perceiving and imagining are two distinct operations.

Everybody knows that there is a great difference between "intuiting" a thing in its self-presence and re-presenting it by means of an however well developed memory-image. The judgment of the intellect can be founded on either the percept or the image; but it is not necessary that the percept be perfectly clear, nor that the image be a true "portrait" or "copy" of the thing. In many people, the imaginative power is rather poor; they are unable to visualize things not present or to recall, with some degree of clarity, auditory phenomena. Nonetheless, their judgments on things absent is not less correct than that of those whose imagination presents them with fully developed images. Even in the case of people who dispose of an effective imaginative power, the highly developed ("photographic") images are not the rule; often these images are fleeting, fugitive, ghost-like appearances, which, however, suffice for a basis of judgments and even for, what subjectively, is a perfect recalling

of a thing once experienced. Our memorative knowledge comprises much more than is given in the image itself.

Be it noted that no intuitive knowledge on the part of the intellect is needed for rendering this power aware of its judging on objects present or absent. For this knowledge it suffices that the mind be conscious of the differences of perceptual and memorative activities.¹²

The judgment as such is independent of the self-presence of the thing. I may form evident judgments also on pure figments of the mind; if I create in my imagination a fabulous animal, a winged horse for instance, I can make true statements on this creature. Sensory intuition, as it is the characteristic of the external senses, is not necessary. And the evidence the intellect has of judging on a real or a fictitious being depends neither on such an intuition, but on the peculiarities of the total mental situation in perceiving on one hand, and imagining on the other.

St. Thomas does not claim, as I have pointed out in one of the previous studies, that the peculiar operation he calls *reflexio super phantasma* is a necessary factor in the intellectual performance of judging. He rather is of the opinion that a judgment on particulars (Socrates is a man) results from the co-operation of the *ratio parti-*

12. It is not the content, the richness in details, the colorfulness or any such quality which distinguishes the image from the percept. The difference is wholly on the side of the mental performance and its peculiarities, on the side of what Brentano-Husserl called "acts" or Stumpf opposed to the "phenomena" (*Erscheinungen*) as "functions". A confusion of image and precept occurs, under average condition, very rarely if at all. It happens that one may not be quite sure whether one perceives or imagines in the case of incomplete sensory data; in such a case one may say: I am not sure whether I really see this or that or only imagine it. But this happens because there are certain vague visual data and one is not certain whether the interpretation given to them is correct or not. A true confusion of image and percept can be brought about under quite unusual experimental conditions; normally however, an image even if very vivid and complete is not taken for the presence of a thing. This should be considered before one credits the pathological fact of hallucination with any relevance in regard to the question of perception and imagination. In truth, hallucinations are mostly not at all what psychiatrists believed them to be, namely particularly vivid images which, in virtue of their "portrait-likeness" resemble perfectly perceptions. Quite to the contrary, true hallucinations are very imperfect data, and it is only the interpretation given to them by the diseased mind which makes them into realities. The argument taken from hallucinations, be it in regard to the questions referred to here, be it in regard to the epistemological question of the trustworthiness of our perceptions, should be dropped altogether. It is rather remarkable that the same philosophers who are so extremely distrustful of the testimonies of common sense take at their face-value the statements of mentality ill people.

cularis with the intellect; if this is the case, no intellectual knowledge of the particular or intuition of it is demanded, because the *ratio particularis s.vis cogitativa* is able, being one of the internal senses, to avail itself directly of the percept or phantasm.¹³

One might argue that the intellect has, all the foregoing remarks notwithstanding, to know immediately the particular because otherwise there can be no evidence of truth or falsehood of a judgment. Truth is the *adaequatio intellectus ad rem*. *Intellectus* means, I suppose, in this context not the mental power but its "product"; in this sense *intellectus* is synonymous to concept, when such one is viewed in itself, and to the "state of affairs" expressed in a proposition, when the concept is envisioned as related to another or to a particular. The *res*, in regard to a judgment or proposition, is a relation and thus an object in a sense somewhat different from that in which a particular thing is given this name.¹⁴ An insight into the correspondence of a state of affairs, among real things, particulars, and the relation established in the intellect apparently renders inevitable that this power have direct access to the particular, insofar as this is one member of the relation stated. Suppose, I have a cat called Socrates; then the proposition: Socrates is a cat, will appear as true. But it can appear thus only if the intellect knows of the cat called Socrates. This reasoning, however, is not as cogent as it seems at first sight. For the intellect to know that the proposition is true, it would suffice that one be intellectually aware of the fact that there is "a" cat called Socrates, i.e., that it is legitimate to combine the two names.

The mere awareness that a thing is self-present, therefore perceived, or represented, therefore imagined, may exist without any participation of the intellect. Although it is true that language is an achievement closely linked up with rationality, since no sub-human being possesses language in the true sense of the name, it does not follow that all verbal utterances are necessarily based on intellectual operations. The so-called judgment of existence, of the form:

13. This problem need not be discussed here because I am concerned only with the alleged necessity to assume an intellectual intuition of particulars.

14. A. v. Meinong, accordingly, has suggested that one ought to use different names for the *res* with which the different mental performances, respectively the powers are concerned. He calls "object" the "referent" of sensory activities (including imagination), but an "objective" (*das Objektiv*) the state of affairs expressed in a judgment.

There is this thing, is probably made without co-operation of the intellect, as long as the predication of a class-name is omitted.¹⁵

When we, as it is generally the case, immediately apply a general name to a particular sensed or imagined, the intellect seems to have to be cognizant of this particular. This must be so, it is claimed, because otherwise the suitability of the general name and the concept it designates could never be ascertained. It is here again where the controversial *reflexio super phantasma* comes in. According to the theory criticized by Dr. Day, the intellect possesses only an abstract knowledge of "the man," "the cat" in general. St. Thomas says, as one knows, that the intellect becomes cognizant of the reference its general concept has to a given particular by the intellect retracing its steps and finally discovering the particular phantasm as the origin of the whole abstractive and conceptual process.

I believe that to arrive at a further clarification of this point one has to take account of certain facts and ideas which, I dare say, are not sufficiently considered by psychology.¹⁶ One has to assume that in virtue of the correlation between mental operation and the objects with which this operation is concerned or to which it refers, each act of a power is differentiated by its object. Although perceiving is always fundamentally the same sort of operation, to perceive colors is not the same as to perceive sounds; and to perceive

15. The mind is not forced to proceed from sensory awareness to the formation of a universal. It may stay on the level of mere sensory awareness. We may "be lost in the contemplation" of a thing without going on to classification or generalization. Usually, the habit of naming and therewith of generalization and abstraction prevails. But there are cases in which we are so captivated by sensory impressions that we abandon ourselves to them without "thinking" at all, e.g., when listening to enthralling music. One can train oneself to forget about intellectual co-operation and learn to live, as it were, on the level of unadulterated sensuality. Perhaps, I may make use of this opportunity to warn against the belief that introspection is easy and to be achieved by everyone. Like all other procedures, introspection too must be trained to be reliable. Many mistakes have arisen by the confidence untrained observers placed in their, often casual, observations. Also, it is absolutely imperative that introspective evidence be collected from a greater number of observers, in view of the manifold individual differences of which one cannot say beforehand how and to what an extent they modify inner experience.

16. Modern psychology, that is. If such things as those I am going to discuss are not mentioned in medieval texts, one has to realize that descriptive psychology was not a primary concern with the writers of these centuries. However acute their observations are, they are used mainly as illustrations and empirical proofs of this or that philosophical doctrine. Description for description's sake would probably appear to the medieval thinkers as an idle occupation. There are many problems which did not arise within the context of medieval reflection. But since they arise today, it is our duty to consider carefully all available evidence.

colors is neither the same as to perceive shape or distance. Likewise, intellectual operations differ according to the objects with which they deal or the region in which they move; thus, it is not the same kind of thinking when a mind is preoccupied with a problem of mathematics or with one of another kind.¹⁷ There is, in medieval psychology, one or the other notion which seems to indicate that the thinkers of this age were not unaware of these facts; the notion of the practical intellect is one of them, as is also the characterization of prudence as *recta ratio agendi* as set over against the *recta ratio faciendi*, called science.

The shading or coloring of mental acts by their respective objects becomes more visible when one turns from simple performances, as the awarness of shape or distance, or also thinking about this or that matter, to a consideration of the total response on the part of a person to the total situation in which he is engaged. If Fichte's much quoted word affirms that it depends on what a man is, what kind of philosophy he has, it is also true that the kind of philosophy one has fashions, to a notable degree, the manner of one's being. Not only depends the world-view on personal peculiarities, but the opposite relation obtains too. One can base a typology on the various ways of looking at reality as one can correlate these views with mental types.

Once, chiefly by a study of the "worlds" different persons possess, one's attention has been aroused, one discovers that there is an enormous wealth of shades within the performances of one and the same mental power. These powers are distinguishable not only *secundum operationes et objecta*, but the single operations of one power are likewise shaded by the objects to which they refer.¹⁸

Modern philosophical speculation and psychological inquiry have paid but little attention to these facts. One reason may be that observation is not quite easy, and that the possibility of such differ-

17. Particularly, it is one thing to think in purely "symbolic" terms, as in mathematics, and in terms possessing real significance. It is because of the neglect of these facts that the erroneous idea developed that a training in mathematics and science amounts to a training of the intellect as a whole. If there is such a generally effective training, it is probably rather that attained by grammar and languages than that by learning how to operate symbols.

18. One might consider, in this context, the ideas of C. Spearman on the nature of human intellect. He assumes that there is a "general factor, called *g*, which determines the over-all ability of a person's intellect, and that it is determined more particularly by a number of additional special factors, *s₁, s₂, . . .*

entiations must be suspected, perhaps, first before one can discover them. Another reason, however, is probably more influential. The modern mind, even that of Neo-Scholastics, has suffered the permeation of all modern thought by the philosophy of Descartes. Even a man who consciously rejects the tenets of Cartesianism cannot help, unless he is particularly attentive, falling under this influence. Psychology, especially, however much the individual psychologist may be sure that no philosophical prejudice determines his attitude, has suffered this influence ever since its birth about a century ago. The Cartesian *cogito* emphasizes exclusively, if one applies it to psychological problems, the subjective aspect; the *cogitatio* alone is important. Descartes ignored the unsolvable connection between the *cogitatio* and the *cogitatum*. Critical philosophy, developing in the wake of Cartesianism, contributed still more to this emphasis. It is about time that psychology free itself from the allegiance to this philosophy.¹⁹

In consequence of this strict correlation of mental act and object it is impossible to attribute to two different operations the same object. One and the same object cannot be known in the same manner by two different powers. To claim, therefore, that the intellect, as a power of greater dignity, must be capable of the same achievements as the senses besides those which are proper to the rational power alone, appears to me as a statement not only lacking foundation in fact but as one flatly contradicting the facts.²⁰

Even if one were to admit that there exists some sort of intuitive ability in regard to particulars in the intellect, the effect of this intuition cannot possibly be the same as it is on the level of sensory performance. But the senses apprehend the particular in the concreteness and plenitude of its being, as *hic et nunc et tale*. What then is left to the intellect to know of the particular?

It is, I submit, not necessary that the intellect know the particular *ut sic*. The intellect deals with the particular when applying to it

19. It is not uninteresting to observe that the recent attempt of Husserl to take account of the objective aspect ends after all in an idealistic philosophy. Cf. S. Vannirovighi, *La Filosofia di Edmund Husserl*, Milan, 1939.

20. I have carefully and intentionally avoided quoting any passage in Aquinas I might use as a confirmation of my views. As long as it is feasible to plead for one's ideas by referring to facts, one should not shelter behind "authorities". *Auctoritas autem habet cereum nasum, qui in quamlibet potest flecti directionem*; this warning by Alanus ab Insulis should not be forgotten.

a general notion; it has to be certain that the concept fits to the particular. This necessity arises first when a new particular of the same species comes under observation and is recognized as "one more instance;" secondly, when a universal is predicated of a particular.

In the first case, no intuitive knowledge is necessary. If the intellect proceeds to abstract a universal from the newly encountered instance, it may identify this with the universal abstracted previously,²¹ without any immediate intuitive contact between mental power and particular object. In the other case, it seems sufficient that the intellect be aware of the "total mental situation", that is, of the state in which the sensory cognitive powers are and to be able to identify this state with that having occurred previously when the universal was formed by way of abstraction. Here, neither, can I see a need for appealing to an immediate intellectual intuition.

In an article published several years ago I pointed out that the image or phantasm which is necessarily re-presented when the intellect returns to a concept formed before, need not at all be the very same phantasm as the one from which the universal had been abstractively derived. What is needed is simply some act of the imaginative power, not however the reproduction of the very same image. In fact, the images which "stand for" a perceived object can vary in every instance of reproduction; divers images may function as representatives of the same object; the images may be "life-like" or fragmentary or even symbolic, so that the phenomenon shows no similarity with the original object.

It is much more the rule that the phantasm reproduced in such situations be utterly unlike the object than that it possess a "portrait" quality. However mysterious this may be, it is nonetheless certain that these strange, incomplete images fulfill perfectly the task to

21. Sometimes things are described as if the intellect were forced to abstract a universal whenever the knowing mind is cognizant of an object. This is obviously untrue. I have pointed out above that the mind may stay on the level of purely sensory awareness without proceeding to either generalization or abstraction. (Not all generalization is abstractive; there is also a generalization by way of a general image: this is for instance, the basis of "schematic" drawings, as they may be found in many textbooks; the "characteristic features", say, of the gothic architecture in a history of fine arts are not reproductions of individual windows or spires, but "imaginative generalizations" or "general images".) Another error which occurs frequently is to assume that abstraction demands a collection of similar items; but it is not only in principle possible to abstract the universal nature of a newly encountered thing if it comes under observation only once and in one single instance, it is also certain that in some cases such abstraction is achieved under such conditions: it suffices to have seen one triangle to know the universal nature of triangularity.

represent the object. But then, it becomes impossible to speak of an intuition on the part of the intellect by which this power would be brought in immediate contact with the object.²²

* * * * *

I do not and cannot claim to have answered all the objections raised by Dr. Day. Neither can I pretend at having presented here an exhaustive survey of either problems or facts. Both tasks are too big for the space reasonably allowed to an article. Such as it stands, my argument justifies, I believe, certain conclusions which may be summarized in a few words.

1. The empirical evidence in favor of an intuitive knowledge of particulars on the part of the intellect is insufficient and, insofar as it exists, not in favor of the thesis.

2. If one were to assume that the intellect knows the particular intuitively in the same concreteness and fullness as is supplied by sensory cognition, this would entail (a) an unnecessary duplication of knowledge (which indeed ought to be repulsive to any follower of Ockham); (b) a neglect of the fundamental and necessary correlation of known object and knowing power; (c) a disregard of observable facts, as they have been briefly indicated in the foregoing pages.

3. The reasons alleged for the necessity of such an intellectual intuitive knowledge are not cogent; the various problems raised can be solved also on the basis of a theory which credits the intellect with abstractive knowledge only.

4. The theory of intellectual intuition encounters at least as many difficulties as that of which I am made, by Dr. Day, the representative and advocate.

I do not, as I have said before, feel entitled to act as a spokesman of the Neo-Thomistic school; I am not at all sure that all Neo-Thomists will approve of my views. But having been thus chal-

22. The disregard of introspection as a method of inquiry with the "modern" experimentalists and the lack of training with the Neo-Scholastics has created the rather regrettable situation that obvious problems, very much in need of investigation, are overlooked. But it is important that they be studied; the experimentalist might profit by being made aware of questions he can study with his own methods, and the philosopher might be warned not to envision the data he possesses as complete and as furnishing all the empirical evidence he needs.

lenged, I did not consider it right to remain silent. And I repeat, that the procedure I tried to adopt, viz., to present my views in an affirmative form rather than by way of criticism, seemed to me more fruitful and also more worthy of the kindness and acumen of my adversary.

RUDOLF ALLERS

*The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.*

A FIRST REDACTION OF THE EXPOSITIO AUREA OF OCKHAM

A Critical Comment on Anneliese Mayer, *Ein neues Ockham-Manuskript* (Die Originalform der Expositio Aurea?)

O CKHAM WROTE several works on Logic. One is the *Summa Logicae*, or *Summa Totius Logicae*, sometimes simply called the *Logica* of Ockham. This is the most widely known and distributed work of the Venerabilis Inceptor and is still extant in about fifty manuscripts. The other logical works form a group by themselves. They are Expositions or Commentaries to various logical writings. We know four of them, and they are most probably the only ones of this kind composed by Ockham. They are: *Expositio super librum Porphyrii*, *Expositio super librum Praedicamentorum*, *Expositio super duos libros Perihermenias*, *Expositio super duos libros Elenchorum*. Of these expositions we know eleven manuscripts; one contains only the *Exposition super duos libros Elenchorum*, five do not contain this work; the rest contain all the mentioned Expositions. If we disregard two editions of longer parts from the *Expositio super duos libros Perihermenias* made by the author,¹ we can say that there exists only one edition of the three first Expositions on logical writings, viz., the Incunabula editio of 1496 arranged by Marcus di Benevento of the Celestine branch of the Benedictine Order. The *Expositio super libros Elenchorum* has never been printed.

The fact that Marc of Benevent edited only the three first expositions under the title: *Expositio super totam artem veterem*, also known as the *Expositio Aurea*, should not mislead us to believe that Ockham intended these three works to be one work. We failed to find any evidence for this in the manuscripts. On the contrary, the fourth commentary is added to the others in the same manner in the manuscripts as the preceding ones. Fr. Marc of Benevent did not edit the *Expositio super duos libros Elenchorum* either because

1. The *Tractatus De Praedestinatione . . .* of William Ockham, Franciscan Institute Publications No. 2, The Franciscan Institute, 1945, pp. 104-113. *The Realistic Conceptualism of William Ockham* in *Traditio* IV, 1946, pp. 320-335.

he did not know of it or he did not have at his disposal a manuscript which contained it, or because he intended only to publish Ockham's commentary on the "Ars Vetus". The latter reason was most probably decisive for the lack of the fourth exposition in the manuscripts, at least for three of them, it would seem. However, the opinion, which still exists in textbooks and other publications, that Ockham wrote the *Expositio aurea super artem veterem* and also as a separate work an *Expositio super libros Elenchorum*, is without foundation. For this reason, the Ockham-Commission in charge of the edition of all the non-political works of Ockham will treat all these expositions as one group and each exposition individually. At present, Professor Ernest A. Moody is working on the *Expositio super Porphyrium*.

Anneliese Maier has recently published a study on the *Expositio Aurea of Ockham* in which she suggests that a certain manuscript discovered by her in the Vatican library probably represents an earlier redaction of this work.²

A careful study of this article has convinced us that the reasons advanced by the author, who has chosen the 14th century and mainly its scientific culture as her special field of research, are partly without any weight and partly in contradiction with well-established facts. Since the article was published in the well-known review of the Jesuit Fathers in Rome and since the author, too, has gained the confidence of students of medieval philosophy, it is to be feared that her suggestions may be taken over even as a probability by those who have no immediate access to the sources. Hence we are forced to the thankless task of criticism. We wish to assure the author that in this criticism her suggestions have been taken into serious consideration.

It was Prantl who first cast some doubts on the authenticity of the *Expositio Aurea*, or rather of the printed text of the *Expositio Aurea* which he exclusively used whilst writing his *History of Logic in the Occident*. It is known that his reasons lacked a serious foundation as we shall see later. Anneliese Maier approaches the problem of authenticity from a different angle. She has discovered in the Cod. Borgh. 151 (which, by the way, is known to the Ock-

2. *Ein neues Ockham-Manuskript (Die Originalform der Expositio aurea?)*, in *Gregorianum*, XXVIII (1947) pp. 101-133.

ham-Commission) an anonymous tract on logic. This tract is divided into three parts which bear the respective titles: *Notabilia Porphyrii*, *Notabilia Praedicamentorum*, *Notabilia libri Peribermenias*. The old Catalogue refers to the entire manuscript as *Scriptum Guillelmi Auquam super logicalia* (p. 103). A closer study led the author to the discovery that this work is a kind of redaction of the *Expositio Aurea*; it is only shorter than the work known in the edition of Marco di Benevento. All text divisions and most explanations are lacking. Furthermore, no *Notabilia* are given from the second part of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of the second book of *Peribermenias* which, both as the author maintains (p. 103), contain only text-analyses (die in der *Expositio* nur derartige Textanalysen enthalten), but no comments of Ockham, which are usually introduced by expressions as: *Notandum*, *Sciendum*, *Intelligendum*. However, the number of such *Notabilia* discovered in the work by the author, is much less than in the *Expositio Aurea* as we know it. Furthermore, the author of these *Notabilia* several times remarks that he has omitted less important things (p. 103 s.). In general, however, there is a far reaching agreement between the text of the *Notabilia* and that of the *Expositio Aurea*; usually the *Notabilia* correspond to the comments of Ockham, but sometimes also to the text-analysis (p. 104) which, however, are also given as *Notabilia* (p. 103). According to Anneliese Maier, only two rather long *Notabilia* do not have a corresponding text in the *Expositio*. In order to show the correspondence, she presents in parallel columns the *Notabilia* of the first chapter of Porphyry and the corresponding parts of the *Expositio*. The agreement between both is striking; it leaves no doubt that the one is dependent on the other. Of the rest, she gives only the beginning of each chapter (of Porphyry and of the *Praedicamenta*), the beginning of a few *Notabilia* of the first book of *Peribermenias* and finally the two entire *Notabilia* which according to her are lacking in the *Expositio*.

There is no doubt that the author has proven that the *Notabilia* and the *Expositio* are Redactions of the same work (p. 131). We also readily agree with the author that we are not dealing with two different *Reportationes* of the same lectures (p. 131). We finally agree that one of the two possibilities has to be chosen, either the *Notabilia* are an *Abbreviatio* of the *Expositio* or they are an early redaction of the *Expositio* and the *Expositio* is an enlarged edition

of the *Notabilia*. She is convinced that the latter possibility has more probability in favor of it than the former. These are her reasons:

1) The *Expositio Aurea* has been considered to be worked over; and hence, even before the *Notabilia* were known, it was suspected that there was an earlier redaction. (p. 131).

2) In the *Notabilia* such peculiarities are lacking as have caused doubts as regards the full authenticity of the *Expositio*: viz., the long, mostly pedantic and clumsy text divisions and text explanations and the tiresome repetitions in the comments, and above all the unequal stylistic presentation. (p. 132).

3) The most decisive reason, however, is that two long *Notabilia* have no corresponding text in the *Expositio*. (p. 131).

Unfortunately, these reasons do not prove the point that the author is making. For they are either irrelevant or incorrect. This we shall presently show.

To 1): It is a fact that some scholars have considered the *Expositio Aurea* to be contaminated by additions. It is difficult to say how many were of this opinion. It is especially difficult to say how many are still of this opinion after Abbagnano has shown that the basis for Prantl's statement to that effect is without any foundation. Since Prantl's erroneous opinion and its repercussions still seem to have some weight for Anneliese Maier, we are forced to expose it again. In *Die Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, v. 3, p. 329, note 739, Prantl writes:

Jedoch am Schluss des Buches (of the printed text, because Prantl used no manuscript for Ockham) lesen wir: Et sic est finis tum expositionum super totam artem veterem secundum mentem venerabilis inceptoris Guilielmi de Occham . . . und es ist hieraus nach der üblichen Bedeutung der Worte "ad mentem" zu schliessen, dass das Ganze nicht aus erster Hand von Occham herrührt . . . , sondern allenfalls auf nachgeschribenen Heften beruht;³ auch wird ja in jenen Teilen des Commentars, welche nicht dem Albert de Saxonia angehören, öfters der "venerabilis inceptor" oder "venerabilis expeditor Occham" selbst genannt (z. B. Praedicam. c. 3 zweimal), und bei der arbor Porphyriana (Praedicab. de specie) lesen wir die ergötzlichen zwei Distichen: Sum litis genitrix, solis sed nota peritis, Per me quam plures erubuere viri; Sed decus et splendor nitidissimus Occham Ingenio claram me facit esse suo.

3. We have checked all the manuscripts and can only say that "ad mentem Ockham" is in none of them.

Already in 1939 (*Franziskanische Studien*, 26 (1939), 193) we have called attention to the effective and definitive refutation of the thesis of Prantl made by N. Abbagnano (*Guglielmo di Ockham*, Lanciano, 1931). We repeat it here even at the risk of appearing to be repetitious:

Abbagnano weist auf S. 28-29 nach, dass Markus von Benevent in seiner Ausgabe manches hinzugefügt hat, aber seine Zusätze immer sorgfältig durch F. M. kenntlich macht. Markus macht selbst darauf aufmerksam. Es heisst fol. 7: "Notandum est hic quod interdum tam in quaestionibus Alberti parvi quam in expositione textus quaedam inter has duas literas, scilicet F.M., intercepta reperiuntur: quae dicta solum fratri Marco operis correctori sunt ascribenda". Häte Prantl diese Zeilen in dem ihm vorliegenden Texte gelesen, so hätte er sich seine Anmerkung 739 . . . sparen können."

There is, indeed, no reason why this doubt or suspicion of Prantl which has no foundation in the manuscript tradition but only in a superficial reading of the edition⁴ should even be taken seriously. Anneliese Maier is ready to admit that (p. 101). However, she seems to entertain suspicion on the authenticity of the *Expositio Aurea*, and in order to mitigate Prantl's error she points to the fact that sometimes Frater Marcus left out "F.M." when he made an addition. That is true in one instance at least. Where the others are we do not know. But this instance is so obviously an addition and is set off so clearly from the other text of the *Expositio Aurea* that it will not help Prantl very much. The addition is the *arbor Porphyriana*. On top of it is the first distichon found in Prantl's footnote, and at the bottom the other which contains the name of Ockham. Perhaps Frater Marcus was so entraptured by his poetry that he forgot to add his initials; or, it may be that the transcriptores or the printer forgot this notation. It is beautiful to find an excuse for a person; an error, however, must not be excused, but eliminated. Only scholars who did not make a special study of the *Expositio Aurea* have followed Prantl blindly, the few who consulted the manuscripts have thought quite differently. In fact, there is no sign of serious interpolations or additions, when we compare the old edition with the manuscripts; there are, however, omissions on the part of the edition, the text of which is in a rather bad condition.

4. The printer has even explained how it happened that the notes went into the text though Marc of Benevent had them added on the margin of the corrected copy: *quod ita evenit, quod cum in marginibus utriusque exemplaris quaedam annotata essent cum F. M. litteris hinc inde, quae transcriptores putantes ea esse de utriusque exemplaris integritate, intus apposuerunt . . .*

To 2): We are unable to offer any serious discussion of this rather vague reason. *De gustibus non est disputandum.* Others are inclined to find Ockham's *Expositio* clear and even interesting.

To 3): The main reason of the author can be easily eliminated. The two long *Notabilia* have in fact a corresponding text in the *Expositio Aurea*, and not only in the manuscripts but also in the edition. The author has simply overlooked them. It was easy for us to recognize them, since we have published them in the appendix of our Study on Ockham's *De Praedestinatione*. It may suffice to give in parallel columns only the beginning and the end of both.

Notabilia

ed. Anneliese Maier *Gregor. XXVIII,*
1 (1947) p. 130.

Item nota quod ista propositio: "omne quod est, quando est, necesse est esse" de virtute sermonis est simpliciter falsa, et hoc quia ista non potest esse de virtute sermonis nisi temporalis vel de temporali subiecto. Et si sit . . .

. . . Et ita non est de ista: "Omne quod est, necesse est esse", non enim sequitur: "tunc⁵ est, igitur *a* est", si *a* aliquid quod est, sicut sequitur: "hoc tunc est, igitur *a* est", si *a* sit in hoc tempore.

p. 130

Item nota quod in propositionibus singularibus de futuro, in quibus subiicitur praecise pronomen demonstrativum vel nomen simplex proprium . . .

. . . igitur haec est possibilis: hoc est nigrum; sed non sequitur; album potest esse nigrum, igitur haec est possibilis: album est nigrum, et sic de aliis.

Expositio super 1^m L. Peribermenias.

ed. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M.
The *Tractatus de Praedestinatione* . . . 1945, p. 109 s.

Sciendum est quod ista propositio: Omne quod est quando est necesse est esse, de virtute sermonis est simpliciter falsa, et hoc quia ista non potest esse de virtute sermonis nisi temporalis vel de temporali subiecto. Si sit . . .

. . . Et ita non est de ista: Omne quod est necesse est esse; non enim sequitur: Tempus est,⁶ igitur A est, si A sit aliquid quod est, sicut sequitur: Hoc tempus est, igitur A est, si A sit in hoc tempore.

p. 106 s.

Sciendum est hic, quod in propositionibus singularibus de futuro, in quibus subiicitur praecise pronomen demonstrativum vel nomen simplex proprium . . .

. . . igitur haec est possibilis: Hoc est album, et tamen non sequitur: Nigrum potest esse album, igitur haec est possibilis: Nigrum est album, et sic de aliis.

5. The reading "tunc" in the *Notabilia* seems to be an error (of the scribe?).

6. The reading "tempus" in the *Expositio* is certain in all mss. and also in the edition.

Thus breaks down the entire basis on which the suggestion was built that these *Notabilia* are an early form of the *Expositio*. They are not an original redaction; they are just *Notabilia*, noteworthy excerpts or extracts, made from another work which the writer of these *Notabilia* had before him. If we read his closing note without any prejudice, but take it at its face value, it proves that he had a work before him in which already *Notabilia*, viz., the *Notabilia* which he transcribed, were existing. For he says:

Tanta igitur notata sint de propositionibus de futuro in materia contingentia; et in hoc terminantur notabilia primi libri, quae alicuius sunt ponderis, quia notabilia puerilia multa omisi propter brevitatem. (p. 131).

In order to omit some *Notabilia puerilia*, it is necessary that they are already given; at least we should not assume the role of the famous medieval "protervus" and take refuge in the certainly not obvious sense, that *possible Notabilia* are omitted.

For the sake of historical truth we would like to add a few minor corrections which do not concern primarily the thesis of Anneliese Maier.

On p. 102 she states that the *Expositio Aurea* in the MSS. is called mostly *Summa in artem veterem*. We have no evidence for this.

On p. 103, note 9, the author maintains that the majority of MSS. containing the *Expositio Aurea* does not contain the *Expositio super duos libros Elenchorum*. This is not correct, as far as we know at present. There is an equal number of MSS. which contain them and do not contain them, viz., 5.

On p. 132, footnote 30, the author refers to another manuscript which contains Ockham's commentary to the first book of the Sentences. It was of interest to us to learn from the author that this manuscript was written by the same scribe who wrote the *Notabilia*. Cod. Borgh. 68 is indeed an *Abbreviatio* (up to dist. 30) as we were finally assured by Msgr. Pelzer and Fr. Julius Reinhold, O.F.M., who were so kind as to give us every modern means at their disposal in order to decipher the partly erased *Explicit*. However, before this final work, we were inclined to see in this Codex a *reportatio* of Ockham's first book on the Sentences. We were convinced that it could not be an *Abbreviatio* of the text tradition which is represented by most of the MSS. and also by the editions of this work. A

more protracted study of the text convinced us that it is an *Abbreviatio*, made of the first redaction of Ockham's commentary on the Sentences. Thus it happened that Anneliese Maier had texts of an "original form" of one of Ockham's works in her hands, but nevertheless rightly concluded that it was an *Abbreviatio*. The manuscript tradition of medieval works can be sometimes extremely complicated.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

*The Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

MISCELLANEA

Franciscana Notes

A NEWS REPORT ON THE RELICS OF JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

From the inter-provincial communications *Nachrichten aus unserm Familiennreise*, June 30, 1947, of the province of Cologne, we present here a translation of the report on the fate of the relics of John Duns Scotus:

"On the 14th of April of this year at Cologne an inspection of the relics of the holy servant of God, John Duns Scotus, took place. Father Marianus Müller, from our province, was present at this event as the Vice-Postulator of the beatification. At the direction of his Eminence, the Archbishop, the head investigator, Doctor Corsten, conducted the investigation which the medical superintendent of the Severin Hospital in Cologne, Doctor Dietlein, performed in the presence of several members of the clergy of the Cathedral and medical assistants. The shrine with the relics of the man of God had been placed in the chapter hall of the Cathedral, after having lain for five years in the ruins of the Minoriten Kirche, under about four meters of rubble. The zinc relic box was about 80 centimeters long and 45 centimeters high and just as wide. It had been pressed in. After it had been found a short time ago, during the work of clearing away the debris in the Minoriten Kirche, it had been preserved in the Treasury in order that the dampness due to the war damage that had penetrated into it might dry out. The moisture had rotted almost entirely the small wooden coffin that had been enclosed within the zinc relic box; in this wooden box was found partly rotted silk, covering a long, larger part of the skeleton; but the skeleton although damp, was found unharmed. Besides the head, the bones of both arms, both legs, as well as those of the spine, ribs, back, teeth, and many of the smaller parts of the skeleton were found in good condition. The doctors immediately established the fact that he must have been a comparatively young man. Indeed, when Scotus died, he had just reached his forty-second year. On top of his head lay a document, sealed with the seal of the Cathedral Chapter of Cologne, which, however, when touched, fell apart. But enough could be deciphered so that the singular bones in question could be enumerated. This document in all probability goes back to an earlier official recognition. In order that the relics of the holy servant of God might dry out completely, the relics were placed in a drilled wooden box in a vault. After a while it is intended that these relics be placed in a dignified wooden shrine which will remain in the treasury of the Cathedral."

BONAVENTURE A. BROWN, O.F.M.

*Managing Editor of
Franciscan Studies*

LITTLE KNOWN FRANCISCAN ASTRONOMERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The revolutionary solar system of Nicholas Copernicus, which he expounded in 1543, has been taken for granted for four centuries. Yet this great discovery was prepared by a long line of astronomers who helped to lay the foundations of modern astronomy by contributions to the science which from various directions attacked the age-old Ptolemaic system.

The observation of the lunar eclipses showed discrepancy between scientific observation and the computation of time in the Church's calendar. Quite early it became evident that the lunar reckoning was erroneous and had to be corrected. Magister Conrad of Strassburg first gave expression to this conviction some time about the year 1200. The actual correction was performed by the great teacher of the Oxford Franciscans, Robert Grosseteste, later bishop of Lincoln (died in 1253). About 1270 several scholars propagated the new findings of astronomers at Magdeburg in Germany by compilations of reckonings of time in chronological order.

One of these early astronomers was the Friar Minor John of Gustedt, also called John of Saxony. He based his computations on the so-called Toletan Tables, drawn up by Arzachel in 1080 in the city of Toledo in Spain from which they took their name. Compiling a table upon this basis he adjusted the figures of Toledo to those of Magdeburg for the years 1273 to 1291. The work of the Friar Minor bears the title of: *Computus novus philosophicus*. It begins with the words: *Cum sit intentio ostendere* and is divided into two parts ranging in the manuscripts from 32 to 37 pages. This astronomical work is preserved in four manuscripts: 1. in the library of the city of Lueneburg (Ratsbibliothek) dating from the end of the thirteenth century; 2. in the university library of Erlangen about 1300; 3. in the Provincial Library of Hannover, dated 1342; 4. in the National Library of Vienna, dated about 1400. In 1281, an unknown scholar continued the work of Friar John of Gustedt. Wellnigh two centuries after, another unknown scholar compiled time-tables on the basis of those of Friar John of Gustedt (preserved in the Library at Cues in Germany). In 1297, a certain John of Saxony compiled a chronological table adjusted to Magdeburg which might be a continuation of those of Friar John of Gustedt; it is preserved only in fragments, so that the affiliation to those of the Franciscan Friar cannot be established with certainty.¹

Theodore Ruffi, a Friar Minor, who in 1448 was stationed at Gruenberg (Gronenberg) in Hesse-Darmstadt, transcribed there a treatise written in 1444 explaining the construction of a block-clock with dials which were adjusted for various directions. This treatise bears the title: *Notandum pro faciendis horologium iacens equidistanter* and is preserved in Friar Ruffi's transcription in the National Library at Munich. Ruffi added a work of his own to this copy, namely a design exhibiting the deflections of dials. This

1. Zinner, Ernst. *Die aeltesten Raederuhren und modernen Sonnenuhren*, Bamberg, 1939, pp. 70-71, 105, note 8.

original contribution of the Friar is an important addition to astronomical science and figures as a milestone in the history of astronomy. Friar Ruffi transcribed, between 1447 and 1450, a chart showing the movements of sun and moon and a treatise showing how to construct a dial directed to the south. Both copies are preserved in the Munich National Library.²

Magister H. Collis of Strassburg is the third Friar Minor who made contributions to the science of astronomy. In 1456, he wrote the treatise: *Semidiametrum horologii equinoctialis* which describes the construction of a south and horizontally directed dial with 47 degrees of elevation of the pole erected at Hall in Tyrol. The fourth section of this treatise sets forth how the deflection of a wall can be established from the east-west direction with the help of the Indian Circle or of a compass and how to take account of the deflection in the construction of dials. A later copy of this treatise written about 1466 is preserved in the National Library at Vienna. Friar Collis was probably a disciple of Master Martin, a lay teacher at Hall in Tyrol who was famous for constructing dials.³

These Franciscan Friars, like scores of contemporaries, cannot be credited with works of monumental importance, yet their painstaking labors have contributed to a certain extent to lay the foundations for the erection of the great building of astronomical science and thereby have become instrumental to the later great creations of Copernicus and his successors.

In this connection, we may mention that some dials constructed for the use of Friars Minor in the fifteenth century are still extant. Master Martin, mentioned above, in all probability constructed the dial on the tower of the Franciscan Church at Bozen, in Tyrol, some time about the year 1470. Orientated to the south it indicated the hours from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. Since the pole-stick is missing, it does not do any service. On the tower of the former Franciscan Church of Muehlhausen, in Saxony, the old dial is still functioning. In the church is a dial placed on the first pillar in the west; it is orientated to the south and was placed there in 1558. On top of this dial is placed another dial constructed in the seventeenth century but its pole-stick is missing.⁴

THE DEVOTION TO THE HOLY NAME OF JESUS AND SUPERSTITION

Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus is so well-established in the Church that people cannot understand that there ever could have been a controversy on the orthodoxy of this eminent Catholic practice. Yet, things were different in the fifteenth century, when St. Bernardine of Siena began to preach this new devotion. Even the pope, Martin V, disapproved of the devotion till St. Bernardine, St. John of Capistran and other Friars in a debate with a large

2. Zinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 77, 101, 104, 106, note 10.

3. Zinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 107.

4. Zinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 109, 116.

group of learned theologians vindicated the Catholic character of the new devotion. Only a few details are extant about this memorable debate of 1426 which definitely introduced the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus into the Church.¹

To understand how such a formidable opposition could arise, it must be recalled to mind the widespread superstition rampant at the time. From paganism the superstition was introduced into the early Church to attribute to certain passages of the Bible a positive miraculous influence against evil spells or sickness. Among the earliest Christian amulets we find a medal on whose reverse is depicted a she-ass with colt surrounded with the legend D. N. IHV XPS DEI FILIUS.² During the Middle Ages a considerable number of passages of the Gospel, in which the name of Jesus occurs, was abused for magical purposes. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the Sacred Name is used in a pious or superstitious way. Yet, an accumulation of favorite magical texts will leave no doubt as to their superstitious use.

A case in point is a colored woodcut executed a few years after the death of St. Bernardine of Siena and exhibiting the monogram of the Holy Name of Jesus in the lower half and a crucifixus in the upper half. Above the cross is placed the inscription in full letters: "Jhesus nazarenus rex iudeorum." This title appears frequently in charms all through the Middle Ages as a preservative against sudden death. This wonder-working title is also found on many brooches of the 14th and 15th centuries as a protection from evil³. As late as the year 1747, a German book of superstitious prayers states that this glorious title "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews", is most powerful against witchcraft, sorcery and perils of every kind, whenever one carries it with him and recites it in times of danger with great confidence.⁴ Under the right arm of the crucifixus we read: "Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat." This is another wonder-working phrase widely used in the Middle Ages as a prophylactic on coins and jewels and in charms. John Mandeville wrote about 1370: "As Christ passed through the Jews, so men will pass through thieves on their journey and through enemies, when they say these words." This magical inscription appears quite frequently on finger-rings. Under the left arm of the crucifixus are placed the words: "Si ergo me quaeritis, sinite hos abire." These words are charms corresponding to the "Jesus autem transiens," intended to protect against all evil influences.

The medallion in the lower part bears in the centre the monogram of the name of Jesus (ihs) surrounded with rays of light and on the outer border is placed the legend: "In nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum." This quotation seems to be quite devotional, yet in conjunction with the magical inscriptions of the upper part cannot be

1. Hefer, John. *St. John Capistran, Reformer*, St. Louis, 1943, p. 62.

2. Kraus, F. X. *Real-Encyklopaedie der christlichen Alterthuemer*, vol. I, Freiburg, 1882, p. 50.

3. Evans, Joan. *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Oxford, 1922, p. 128 sq.

4. *Geistlicher Schild gegen geistliche und leibliche Gefaehrlichkeiten allzeit bei sich zu tragen*. Prag. 1747, p. 6. A goodly number of superstitious prayers of this book are credited to Capuchins.

taken in any other sense as being a charm and protection from all evils. Thus, the man who tacked the woodcut on the wall of his house, had in it a four-fold charm which was supposed to protect him against demons, spirits, thieves and all perils of soul and body. This woodcut which has all the ear-marks of superstition was reproduced in Buchberger's *Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche* in 1935⁵ as a specimen of genuine devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus. Considering the vast mass of charms and superstitious prayers in which the sign of the cross and the Holy Name of Jesus was abused in the fifteenth century, we cannot but admire the heroic courage of St. Bernardine of Siena who propagated an apparent superstitious practice of the people as an orthodox devotion. On the other hand, we can understand why so many theologians opposed this innovation of the Franciscan Friar. If the future brings forth a detailed history of fifteenth century superstition, we will be able to do justice to the Franciscan Friars who dared to introduce the devotion of the Holy Name into the Church against tremendous opposition.

MEDALS OF ST. BERNARDINE OF SIENA

In 1438 the first commemorative medal was cast by Antonio Pisanello, at Ferrara, in Italy. The medals were usually in the form of a coin but a little larger; they were not meant to pass as money in commerce but were exclusively intended to be memorials of persons or events. The front or obverse of the medal bears, with a few exceptions, the portrait of the person honored by the medal. The reverse is decorated by some device of a personal or historical nature. Ninety-nine out of a hundred old examples of medals were pierced for eventual suspension on a person.

The first man honored by having a medal cast was the Greek emperor John VIII, Palaeologus, in 1438. Six years later, St. Bernardine of Siena was honored by having a medal cast at the occasion of his death. The medallist, Antonio Marescotti, of Ferrara, executed this work of honoring the popular preacher. Three pieces of this medal are preserved, one bears the date 1444. The portrait on the front has the appearance of having been based on a death-mask and the medal must have been made just after the death of the Saint. The portrait shows a bust clad in the habit, the capuche is drawn over the head, the eyes are closed, a book is clasped in arm and there are indications of a halo. Around the portrait runs the legend: *Coepit facere et postea docere*. On the reverse is shown the trigam of the name of Jesus (yhs) in a flaming halo. The top of the h is formed into a cross with the four letters I N R I: initials of the inscription, Jesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeroum. On the margin is placed all around the legend: *Manifestavi Nomen (sic) Tuum Hominibus* (John 17, verse 6) and the name of the medalist. The medal has a diameter of 77 mm, i.e., a little more than three inches. The cross on top of the middle letter (h) of the trigram was necessitated by the papal

5. Vol. VII, col. 434.

decree which prescribed that a cross has to be attached to the trigram of the Holy Name of Jesus to avoid the accusation that the people were adoring the three letters. Yet, this legislation did not obviate all dangers of superstition as is shown by the initials of the wonder-working title on the cross. Since these letters occupy a very inconspicuous place, they must be considered as conventional and not as magical. The St. Bernardine medal was made of bronze and not of precious metal, as it was intended for a large circulation among the people. The perforation served the purpose of having the medal suspended on the person. In the *Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, edited by George Francis Hill in 1930, the St. Bernardine medal is reproduced as no. 84 in the chronologically arranged work. The specimen once owned by Gustave Dreyfus of Paris was acquired in 1930 by Sir Joseph Duveen and is described by G. F. Hill in: *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection of Renaissance Medals, Oxford, 1931*, as no. 31, on page 24. About the St. Bernardine medal treat in connection with the eight other medals cast by Marescotti Forrer, cfr. *Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. III, 1907, Hill, *Corpus*, pp. 22-26, and Hill in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kuenstler*, vol. XXIV, Leipzig, 1930, p. 87, S. V. Marescotti with incidental bibliography.

THE MILITARY ORDER OF KING ST. LOUIS OF FRANCE

In imitation of the Religious Military Orders, the civil rulers founded secular military Orders to strengthen their position by alliance with the feudal lords or by rewarding faithful nobles with coveted decorations and privileges. Dating from the fourteenth century, fraternities of lay knights were established with statues, patronal feasts, and costume modeled on those of the Religious Orders of Knighthood. In modern times those secular Orders gradually lost their semi-religious character: the religious costume was replaced by the military uniform and the insignia or badges remained as decorations.

A secular military Order of this description was founded in 1693 by King Louis XIV of France under the patronage of the Tertiary King, St. Louis IX of France. This *Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis* was divided into three classes: grand-cross, commanders and knights. The number of members of the first and second class was very much restricted. In 1779, the number was limited to forty grand-crosses and eighty commanders. The insignia consisted of a golden cross with white email borders, at the four arms a form of eight points with lilies. The medallion placed into the centre bears a representation of the picture of St. Louis surrounded with the inscription: *Ludovicus Magnus Instituit 1693*. The ribbon was of red color. The investiture with the insignia was accompanied with a grant of a gratification ranging from 300 to 6,000 livres. Admission to the Order was conditioned on a protracted military service as officier ranging from ten to twenty-eight years. It was not demanded that the candidate be a nobleman but it was necessary that he professed the Catholic religion. The king was by right

the grand-master and the royal princes, marshals, and admirals were enrolled as a matter of course. In 1771, Louis XV created medals for the inferior officers and privates which entitled them to a raise in salary. In 1793, the Military Order of St. Louis was abolished by the French Revolution but, restored in 1815, it was finally suppressed in 1830. The institution of the Order of St. Louis kept the memory of the Tertiary-King and Saint ever fresh among the rank and file of the French army and navy. The decorated officers carried the picture of St. Louis in their insignia on the battle-fields of four continents. In America, the picture of St. Louis was proudly exhibited by the French officers when they celebrated in October of 1781, the decisive victory of Yorktown. Before the memorable event, French officers operating in Canada and the Mississippi Valley would march to church on feast-days displaying the medallion with the picture of St. Louis on their breasts. And in the correspondence of the French officials of the colonies with the home government, the petition of deserving officers for the Cross of St. Louis forms an ever recurring topic. The reports of the commanders in drawing up lists of the rank and file and did not forget to mention that a certain officer belonged to the military Order of St. Louis. The medals bestowed on the inferior officers and privates were just as much coveted as the insignia of the Order by the higher officers. The Baron de Closen describes in his journal of the campaign in the American revolutionary war how Louis XVI was very liberal in the distribution of these medals to create enthusiasm among his troops for the American campaign. Thus, the picture of the Teritary King proved an inspiration to the French and German auxiliaries who assisted in the establishment of the United States of America.

JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M. CAP.

*St. Augustine's Monastery,
Pittsburgh, Pa.*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Main Problems of Philosophy. An introduction to philosophy. By Oswald Robles. Translation from the Spanish and introduction by Kurt F. Reinhardt. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1946. Pp. xi + 200. \$3.00.

From the original Spanish title: *Propedéutica filosófica: Curso de introducción general a la filosofía*, it would seem that this work is intended to be a text-book for use as a general introduction to philosophy. The author himself (p. 185) speaks of it as an introduction which attempts to avoid the pitfalls of cheap popularization, and warns that it requires "further explanation and commentation, by means of collateral reading as well as through the aid of a competent teacher." Yet one hesitates to recommend the book unreservedly to American colleges.

Such a judgment, however, should not be taken to indicate a disapproval; it does not mean that the book contains any faulty philosophy, or even that it lacks the philosophical method, or that it will not capture the interest of the student, given the guiding hand of a good teacher. But it contains much strong meat that might prove beyond the assimilative capacity of philosophical babes. Certainly, philosophy is not subject to popularization nor can it be reduced to a delightful pabulum even for beginners. But if the task of a course in "Introduction to philosophy" is to lead the mind of the student into philosophy and prepare him to philosophize, then the approach should be more gradual than that followed by Dr. Robles. The reviewer confesses he is of the school that holds that students must be introduced to philosophy by way of dialectical inquiry, by awakening the "wonder" of the student, by showing him philosophy in the making. Doctor Robles, it is true, does use a semi-historical introduction to the different problems, but to my mind he plunges the beginner too soon *in medias res*, with the result (I fear) that the tyro will be confused by divergent opinions, or lost in historical facts that are sometimes so compressed as to be unclear (e.g., p. 34; p. 52). Nevertheless, we must grant that the test of such a book is in its actual use in the class-room.

But apart from this particular problem, the work is very commendable. From start to finish it is packed with interesting and provocative discussion that will help even professors of philosophy; it will supply them and their students with new approaches to the branches of philosophy, especially the theory of knowledge, metaphysics and the Scholastic evaluation of axiology. It will help in a rapprochement between Scholasticism and the more important non-Scholastic contemporaries who are made to contribute toward the general doctrine of the author.

But I find myself strenuously objecting to several statements, usually in the paragraphs given over to historical details. One wonders if the author or the translator is responsible for some of them. Besides the corrections and strictures which Father J. J. Rolbiecki has listed in his review of the work (*Thought*, 22: 86 (Sept. 1947), 542-543), I would note the following:

1. In a strict Aristotelian division of sciences, economics is properly subordinated to Politics (p. 28; cf. *Ethic*. Nicom. I, ii, 1094b4ff).
2. Many will not agree with the description of the nature of Scholasticism (p. 39ff), nor the inclusion of René Descartes among proponents of Christian philosophies (which are defined as rational syntheses which can be harmonized extrinsically with Christian dogma, *ibid.*): else Descartes' works would hardly rate the Roman Index. It would seem that the common element of Scholasticism was the use of the dialectical method of Aristotle, and that it should be described as that philosophical (and, *a fortiori*, theological) movement which arose out of the use of the Aristotelian dialectic, rather than as a doctrinal eclecticism of synthetic character (p. 40). I fail to see verified in actuality the charge that the philosophers of the scholastic decadence carried the scholastic method to such extremes as to make it sterile and deprive it of its originality (p. 41). The truth of the matter is that the Scholastic method of the thirteenth century is quite radically changed by the end of the fourteenth century, and seems far from sterile in Peter of Candia, the Erfurt School, William of Vorillon, etc.
3. Dr. Robles does not pass too just a judgment on the Sophists (p. 46); their name does not mean "wise men," but "those who made profession of *sophia*."
4. I should like to consult the original of the expression: "worldly onslaughts [on Saint Thomas' doctrine] of many errors." Off-hand, I would take it the author meant secular in the sense of age-long, not worldly!
5. *Tabula rasa* (p. 52) is not Aristotle's description of the soul or intellect, as is so often said.
6. The translation of a sentence from John of St. Thomas (p. 66) does not agree with the Latin quoted; in fact, the English is at direct variance with the original.
7. There is an unpardonable number of errors in the historical treatment of Aristotle (p. 86ff), which could have been avoided by the use of Prof. Werner Jaeger's classical work on the Philosopher. No one believes today that the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle "issued from the mind of its author in full armor and perfect shape, in the manner in which, according to the legend, Minerva was said to have sprung into life from the head of Jupiter" (p. 90). Historians know of no commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* by Alexander of Hales (p. 92)! And they would hardly rank the work of the Commentator, Averroes, among the lesser commentaries (p. 93). The bibliography should list (*ibid.*) the manual edition of Aristotle by R. McKeon (Random House, 1941).
8. I am sure many Thomist eyebrows will be raised when their owners read that "the third degree of abstraction is properly speaking the essence" (p. 95). Even though this is qualified in the following sentence, it would

still leave metaphysics the science of essences. The same page carries several egregious blunders in translation: *extra suas causas* is rendered as "aside from its causes;" to speak of Physics as "a knowledge of essences which are attached to concrete and sensible reality," etc., is a far cry from *ens concretum quidditati sensibili*, which it is supposed to stand for; "embodied in" or "concretized in" carries much more connotation than "attached to." Finally, "the fundamental psychological reflection" [i.e., the study of living corporeal substances] makes little sense in English.

9. Lastly, the book repeats the usual accusation of fideism apropos William Ockham, and reveals a lack of knowledge of the life of the Venerabilis Incitor when the author tells us that William's political entanglements influenced ("cast their shadows on") his philosophical and theological speculation. (p. 137). One has only to study Ockham's *Sentences I*, d. 3, q. 2, to realize the error of denying to him any natural knowledge of God; thus:

Essentia divina vel quidditas divina potest cognosci a nobis in aliquo conceptu sibi proprio, composito tamen, et hoc in conceptu cuius partes sunt abstrahibiles naturaliter a rebus. (*Ibid.*, F-G).

There is no intuitive knowledge of God *in statu isto*; we are limited to conceptual knowledge drawn from creatures. Is this fideism?—Ockham's philosophical works, and certainly most of his theological works, were completed long before he and Cesena and company fled Avignon that fateful night of May 26, 1328. (Cf. P. Boehner, *The Tractatus de Successivis*, etc., p. 16ff.)

These observations are intended only as healthy criticism of a good book, one that the reviewer has enjoyed reading, one that will help other lectors and professors also in their attempts to clarify philosophical thought for budding Aristotelians. But enthusiasm as well as piety does not dispense with technique, even in minor points of historical detail.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O.F.M.

*Duns Scotus College,
Detroit, Michigan.*

Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences. An Annual ed. by Geza Roheim. Vol. I. New York: International Univ. Press, 1947. Pp. 427. \$7.50.

The last years, says the editor, have brought an hitherto unknown co-operation of anthropology and psychoanalysis, and this annual intends to further this co-operation still more. He claims that "psychoanalysis has so far been successful in interpreting the data collected by anthropology, folklore, mythology, religion, art, literature, history, and sociology". Indeed an impressive list. However, one wonders who judges on the alleged successfulness. Obviously, the psychoanalysts and those scholars who, working in other fields, have seen reason for accepting the psychoanalytic statements. (It must be noted, that the name of psychoanalysis is used by Roheim and the other contributors exclusively for Freud's doctrine, which truly is the only correct use.)

A reader unacquainted with the actual state of affairs is led to think that psychoanalysis has met the approval of all representatives of the disciplines enumerated and that its "successful interpretations" have become the recognized view. This, however, is not the case; there are many outstanding scholars, in all these fields, who consider the psychoanalytic interpretations as highly fantastic and wholly unfounded. Particularly, it must be noted that these interpretations presuppose that Freudian psychology be demonstrated as true, and that his views on primitive mentality, social forces, theory of civilization, and so on, be found in accordance to ascertained facts. The numerous criticisms which have been raised from many sides against the psychological tenets of Freudism and against its peculiar notions on sociological, anthropological, etc., matters are, as is usual with the psychoanalysts, simply ignored.

As far as the articles contained in this volume report on actual observations, they are valuable. But this applies almost exclusively to C. Kluckhohn's study on "Some Aspects of Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood". Most of the essays deal in a very arbitrary manner with a material which one more often will feel to be rather incomplete. Articles like that by E. Hitschmann on "New Varieties of Religious Experience", by E. Bergler on "Psychoanalysis of Writers", by R. Sterba on "Some Psychological Factors in Negro Race Hatred" are typical of the way psychoanalysts handle their material. These articles are of the same kind as were many previously published. They denote the same lack of criticism, the same utter disregard for other views, and the same "sectarian" attitude in regard to the words of the master one has come to know as a characteristic of all literary productions of this school. Furthermore, they all present their problems from an exclusively psychological angle.

It is characteristic for psychoanalysis (but for several other schools too, and perhaps even to a notable degree of general mentality today) that every phenomenon of individual or national life is viewed from the subjective angle only. The possibility that an idea may be true, or a behavior right, independently of the psychological factors conditioning their emergence, is never considered. The psychoanalysts have never understood that, to use the words of the late John Laird "a genetic argument is on nothing but on genesis", that is to say, the most complete knowledge of how and why something happened in a life, e.g., the creation of a work, the conception of an idea, and so on, does not tell us anything about the nature of the thing. Works of art have properties whose appreciation cannot be made on the basis of "psycho-genetics", and the truth of ideas is not dependent on their psychological antecedents. This confusion of subjective and objective analysis becomes evident, for instance, in Hitschmann's article. Suppose it were true that "beneath the historical sequences of religious ideas and attitudes, the activity of the Oedipus complex is clearly present" True or not, this statement has not the slightest bearing on the objective truth and validity of religious attitudes.

Dr. Hitschmann "analyzes" religious experience in men like Werfel, Albert Schweitzer, Schopenhauer, and A. Comte; others, among whom are Gandhi, Goethe, and Samuel Johnson. However different the personalities, the result of analysis is practically the same in all cases: unconscious guilt, rebellion,

and anxiety. The evidence submitted is, however, so slender that it ought to be unsatisfactory even in the eyes of some more exacting psychoanalysts.

This reviewer wants to emphasize that the reproach of excessive subjectivism and the consequences it engenders is not based on any prejudice against psychoanalysis. Although there are sufficient reasons for considering the amount of truth contained in Freud's doctrine as infinitely smaller than his followers, admirers and various kind of "fellow-travellers" believe, the objection raised here would be valid, even if all teachings of Freud were true and acceptable. It is a false methodology which makes psychological factors the only important ones. One might as well argue that the whole progress of nuclear physics achieved in the last years can be satisfactorily "explained" as products of the "destructive instinct" or of some exteriorization of the "death instinct". One ought to realize that the conditions which give rise to a phenomenon are not to be identified with its essence.

Nowhere is this confusion so apparent than in psychoanalytic writings. One is easily convinced of this when reading, e.g., R. M. Loewenstein's contribution on "The Historical and Cultural Roots of Anti-Semitism". Although the title mentions historical and cultural roots, what one is told is chiefly of the nature of psychological analysis; the Jews play a role in the "conflicts of the ego with outer reality, of the ego with the id, of the ego with the super-ego". Where one finds truly sociological analysis, sometimes very interesting (as in E. Kris and N. Leites' contribution on "trends in Twentieth Century Propaganda"), the authors feel that they have to translate their findings into the language of Freudism, a process which clarifies things only to him who has previously accepted the doctrine.

On the whole, in spite of some valuable details, this "Annual" will hardly have anything new to say to the convinced psychoanalyst, and hardly anything of importance to one who considers the Freudian system as factually unfounded and logically unsatisfactory.

RUDOLF ALLERS

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

As the Morning Star. By Marion A. Habig, O.F.M. New York: The Declan X. McMullen Co., and Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1947. Pp. 218. \$2.75.

Father Marion Habig is known to most of our readers as the former editor of *Franciscan Studies* and as the author of several works including *The Franciscan Pere Marquette*, *Heroes of the Cross*, *Man of Peace*, *Pioneering in China* and *Race and Grace*. His latest work treats of the passing of our beloved Saint Francis and is appropriately based on the words of the author of Ecclesiastes (50:6-7): "He shone in his days as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at full. And as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God."

This book is a study of the final years of Saint Francis' life. Father Marion studies the life of the Saint from his own original viewpoint and portrays him as he appears from documents. Therefore, the book is not a complete life of Saint Francis nor does it pretend to describe the life of the Saint as Father Cuthbert's *The Life of St. Francis of Assisi* or Jorgensen's *St. Francis of Assisi, a Biography*. It is a book pregnant with lofty spiritual ideals particularly concerned with the Christian concept of death as exemplified in Saint Francis for, as the author states, the Seraphic Saint looked upon death as a "joyful home-going devoid of mournfulness."

The final pages of this fine work include a lengthy list of books intended for the average reader.

All lovers of Saint Francis who wish to foster a true love in their souls for God and His creatures will welcome this edition to their libraries.

BONAVENTURE A. BROWN, O.F.M.

*St. Bonaventure's College,
St. Bonaventure, New York.*

The Philosophy of Alfarabi and Its Influence on Medieval Thought. By Reverend Robert Hammond. New York: The Hobson Book Press, 1947. Pp. xvi + 55 + index. \$1.50.

Very little has been done in English to show the great indebtedness of the medieval scholastics to Arabic thought. It was the Arabic speaking philosophers, after all, who reduced the implicit, if not explicit, polytheism of Aristotle to a monotheism. It was these same philosophers who made the first attempt to reconcile the Koranic concept of "creation" with Aristotle's "eternal world", and thus developed the distinction of the "necessary" and the "possible" or "contingent" which became a cardinal point in the system of every great scholastic.

In the present work by Father Hammond, or as he formerly called himself, Father Hamui, we have an admirable summary of the thought of Alfarabi. (This work was first published in 1928 in Sydney, Australia under the title *Alfarabi's Philosophy and its Influence on Scholasticism*, Pellegrini and Co.) The doctrines of Alfarabi are arranged under headings which parallel more or less the Wolfian division of philosophy adopted by the neo-scholastics. While this has the advantage of enabling the reader to see the striking resemblance between the thought of the Muslim philosopher and that currently accepted as "scholastic", a student of philosophy would undoubtedly prefer Alfarabi's own division which is that employed by the medieval Christian philosophers in the golden age of scholasticism.

Among other things, Father Hammond indicates how Alfarabi anticipated St. Thomas's doctrine of the real distinction between essence and existence in creatures. By a juxtaposition of the texts of St. Thomas and Alfarabi, the author shows how the Muslim stated the first three arguments for God's

existence the proofs for His infinity, unicity, simplicity, immutability, intelligence, etc., in almost the very words that Aquinas used in the *Summa theologica* some three hundred years later.

One may take exception to the title of the work, for in a summary as brief as that of Father Hammond's, it is impossible to do more than hint at the influence of Alfarabi on scholasticism in general. The historian of the middle ages might also question whether St. Thomas's doctrines should be considered as typical of the main stream of traditional scholastic thought, for in his own day the Saint and his followers represented a minority movement and one whose "innovations" were frowned upon by the more conservative champions of Christian orthodoxy. Be that as it may, we might note that St. Thomas was not the only great scholastic in whose writings we find entire sections that seem to have been copied verbatim from the Arabian and Jewish philosophers.

Even the Augustinian doctrine of "illumination" felt the impetus of the Arabian interpretation of the Agent Intellect. Among the followers of St. Bonaventure, we find men like Robert Maraton, who have swept away the theory of intermediary "Intelligences" and identified Avicenna's *dator formarum* with God Himself. Scotus owes much to Avicenna, and through him to Alfarabi. Striking parallels between the teachings of Ockham and the *Motakallimin* are apparent. In fact, the more one studies the history of Aristotelian thought in Islam, the clearer it becomes that even some of the so-called characteristic doctrines of the great scholastics of the Aristotelian school have their roots in Arabic thought.

For all its brevity, Father Hammond's little work will have performed a great service if it awakens neo-scholastics to the importance of further studies on the historical origin of the doctrines they have chosen to defend. We hope that this work will be widely read and that it may stimulate additional and more extensive studies along this line.

ALLAN B. WOLTER, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, New York.*

A Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States. By John Tracy Ellis. New York: The Declan X. McMullen Company, 1947. Pp. 96.

Doctor John Tracy Ellis already deserves much credit for his inspirational work in the field of American Church History, but with the publication of this *Select Bibliography* he has merited new rights to the honor that is rightly his.

This small paper-covered volume of some one hundred pages is a very worthwhile contribution to the furthering of the study of Catholic History in the United States. It enables every student and teacher to discover at a

glance the main sources in this field. In the words of the author, it is a "general bibliography covering the whole field from the earliest missions of colonial days down to the twentieth century."

In the Preface, Father Ellis mentions the deliberate omission, with a few exceptions, of parish histories, because he hesitates to declare their permanent value for the general history of the Church. Items of secular American life and of the history of Protestantism have been largely omitted because in these two fields, "good bibliographies are easily available elsewhere." With the exception of these omissions, the bibliography is quite complete.

The first chapter presents a list of historical guides which are mainly bibliographies on special phases of American Church history and historiography. Chapter 2 enumerates and describes Catholic "Archival Centers." In the reviewer's opinion, this is an especially valuable chapter, perhaps the most important in the whole book. In the third chapter, a list of "General Works" is given—works that cover large periods of our general or sectional history. The next three chapters cover the principal works of the "Colonial Period, 1492-1789," the "Middle Period, 1789-1866," and the "Later Period, 1866-1946". For each period, he divides the productions into two classes: "Printed Sources" and "Secondary Works." Chapter 7 lists and evaluates over thirty of the more outstanding periodicals, while the last chapter mentions around a dozen Catholic Historical Societies which are at present, or have been, active.

The great practical value of this volume is evident. Anyone interested in this hitherto somewhat neglected field of history will welcome Dr. Ellis' contribution with open arms. His book will be found eminently useful.

It is my opinion, however, that the book would be of even greater usefulness if several changes were made in subsequent revised editions. For one thing, I regret the omission of descriptive notes for so many Catholic University dissertations. The author, in the majority of cases, contents himself with the words "A Ph.D. dissertation". The reviewer also questions the advisability of including in an historical bibliographical aid a work such as Willa Cather's novel, *Death Comes to the Archbishop*. Reasons for including works such as Van Wyck Brooks' *The Flowering of New England* and *The World of Washington Irving*, and E. J. Edwards' *Thy People, My People* also might be questioned.

Some additions can be respectfully suggested. *Robert Streit's *Bibliotheca Missionum*, with its rich list and evaluation of documentary material on Spanish and French colonial mission efforts, should certainly have honorable mention. The Quivira Society publication of Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794: An Annotated Bibliography* is worthy of inclusion, as is J. Manuel Espinosa's *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, important for the Franciscan history of New Mexico.

Dr. Ellis mentions the manuscripts and transcripts in the John Gilmary Shea Collection at Georgetown University, but it is of interest to note that some of the most valuable printed works in this collection are the numerous (and now rare) pamphlets on Catholic historical and allied subjects. These

pamphlets are not indexed (or were not in early 1946) but they will repay the efforts of anyone interested in nineteenth century Catholic Americana.

These few incidental criticisms should not, in any way, lessen the essential worth of this book. The work of Father Ellis is indeed an excellent one. It is to be hoped that the day is not too far distant when the author will favor us with some beginning of that much desired opus, a general history of the Catholic Church in the United States. There are few Catholic historians as eminently fitted for that herculean task as John Tracy Ellis.

FR. MATHIAS KIEMEN, O.F.M.

*St. Joseph Seminary,
Teutopolis, Illinois.*

Heroes of the Cross. An American Martyrology. By Marion A. Habig, O.F.M. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1947. Pp. 271. \$2.50.

Various attempts have been made to compile a list of the Franciscan martyrs of North America. For the most part, such lists have been of doubtful accuracy, and are nothing but a grouping of names and dates. The known circumstances of the deaths of these martyrs too often lie hidden in chronicles which may but rarely be found, even by students of early American history. A volume which would present a verified list of these martyrs together with the known circumstances of their martyrdom, might serve as a useful work of ready reference. *Heroes of the Cross* is just such a volume; and for that reason, one welcomes the third edition of this work.

In this new edition, Father Marion again presents the list of one hundred and twenty-four friar martyrs of North America, compiled from printed documents, chronicles, and documented historical works. The exact location of each martyrdom has been fixed, and the known circumstances of each death summarized. In addition, there is an appendix which contains a general American martyrology (from which the subtitle of the book is taken), a fair article on the protomartyr of the United States, Fray Juan de Padilla, notes on the deaths of the Capuchin Fathers Francis of Bassost, Léonard of Chartres, and Christopher Plunkett. There is also a summary account of the death of Archbishop Seghers, of Alaska, and of the martyrdom of two Mexican tertiaries, in 1927 and 1934. Though these notes in the appendix are useful summaries, the main value of the book lies in the account of the Franciscan martyrs in the first part of the work.

The compilation of the data on these Franciscan martyrs represents a tremendous amount of work by the author; but Fr. Marion correctly observes that his presentation can be but the first stage in a vast amount of spade work that must yet be done in this field. The bibliography submitted by the author is more than adequate for the work in hand; yet the difficulty may be partially shown by the fact that this reviewer has noted the failure to consult, in addition to the works of Mendieta and Torquemada, the three chronicles

of the Franciscan Province of Michoacan: namely, those of Alonso de la Rea, Isidro Felis de Espinosa, and Pablo Beaumont. The chronicles of the Province of Jalisco (by Antonio Tello) and the Discalced Province of San Diego (by Baltassar de Medina) have not been consulted. Beyond this, there are numerous documents pertinent to these martyrs which may be found in the archive of the *convento* of San Francisco el Grande, now at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico*, to say nothing of material that still must be found. Nevertheless, the labors of Father Marion moves this work one firm step forward. Though the attempt to pack so much material in one volume has resulted in a rather clumsy arrangement which makes the book less than continually readable, it does offer a work of ready reference that should at least be found in the library of every friary.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKY, O.F.M.

Siena College,
Loudonville, N. Y.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ASPELIN, GUNNAR. *Hegels Tübinger Fragment.* Lund, Sweden: Häkan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei, 1933. Pp. 70. 2 kr. 50 öre.
- BROWN, FRANCIS JOSEPH. *Social Justice in the Modern World on Reconstructing the Social Order.* Chicago, Ill.: Outline Press, Inc. Pp. v + 77 + Index. 50c.
- CASTRÉN, OLAVI. *Bernhard von Clairvaux.* Lund, Sweden: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1938. Pp. 382. Kr. 4:50.
- COITEUX, FERDINAND, O.F.M. *L'Église Canadienne Glorifie S. Antoine de Padoue le Docteur Evangelique.* Montreal, Canada: Editions Franciscaines, 1947. Pp. 62.
- CORRIGAN, D. J., C.S.S.R. *Message to Negroes.* Oconomowoc, Wis.: The Liguorian Pamphlet Office, 1946. Pp. 32.
- , and D. F. MILLER, C.S.S.R. *What About Your Vocation?* Oconomowoc, Wis.: The Liguorian Pamphlet Office, 1946. Pp. 60. 10c.
- DAHL, AXEL. *Augustin und Plotin.* Lund, Sweden: Lindstedts Univ. Bokhandel, 1945. Pp. 117. Kr. 4:-.
- DOMINI, ANCILLA. *Da Arena Se Vida.* Petropolis, R.J.: Editora Vozes Ltda. Pp. 171.
- EKSTRÖM, RAGNER. *The Theology of Charles Gore.* Lund, Sweden: Häkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1944. Pp. xii + 300. 10 kr.
- FREY, REV. JOSEPH B. *My Daily Psalm Book.* Brooklyn, N. Y.: Confraternity of the Precious Blood. Pp. xii + 364 + Numerical Index. 65c; 90c; \$3.75.
- FULGENTIUS, REV. FR., O.F.M.CAP. *Bishop Hartmann.* Allahabad, India: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1946. Pp. viii + 453. \$2.25.
- GARCIA, P. FELIX, O.S.A. *Historia de las Cosas Mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del Gran Reino de la China.* ESPANA MISIONERA-II. Madrid, Spain: M. Aguilar-Editor. Pp. lii + 396. 22 ptas.
- GEIGER, MAYNARD J., O.F.M. *Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.* Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY. Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. Pp. xiv + 271 + Index. \$3.50; \$5.00.
- GEMELLI, AGOSTINO, O.F.M. *L'Orientamento Professionale dei Giovani nelli Scuole.* EDIZIONI DELL'UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE. Vol. XIX. Milano, Italy: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." Pp. viii + 185.
- GUIBERT, VERY REV. J., S.S. *On Kindness.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1947. Pp. x + 160. \$1.25.
- HABIG, MARION A., O.F.M. *As the Morning Star. The Passing of St. Francis.* New York, N. Y.: The Declan X. McMullen Co., 1947. Pp. 218. \$2.75.

- HEDENIUS, INGEMAR. *Sensationalism and Theology in Berkeley's Philosophy.* Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1936. Pp. 236 + Index.
- JOHANSSON, NILS. *Parakletoi.* Lund, Sweden: Häkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1940. Pp. xvi + 323.
- Julianus Pomerius. The Contemplative Life.* ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS. Translated and annotated by Sister Mary Josephine Suelzer, Ph.D. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1947. Pp. 196 + Index. \$2.50.
- KING, J. LEYCESTER, S.J. *Sex Enlightenment and the Catholic.* THE BEL-LARMINIE SERIES. No. 10. London, England: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1947. Pp. 65 + Index. 6s 9d.
- Les Fioretti de St. François d'Assise.* Translated by R. P. Godefroy, O.F.M. Cap. Paris, France: La Renaissance du Livre. Editions Marcel Daubin, 1947. Pp. xl ix + 314.
- IGUORI, ST. ALPHONSUS. *Visits to the Most Blessed Sacrament.* Oconomowoc, Wis.: The Liguorian Pamphlet Office, 1944. Pp. 91.
- MADELEVA, SISTER M. *Collected Poems.* New York, N. Y.: The MacMillan Co., 1947. Pp. xvii + 166. \$2.75.
- MCMAHON, JOHN J. *De Christo Mediatore Doctrina Sancti Hilarii Pictavensis.* PONTIFICIA FACULTAS THEOLOGICA SEMINARII SANTAE MARIAE AD LACUM. Dissertationes ad Lauream 14. Mundelein, Ill.: Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, 1947. Pp. iii + 134.
- O'CONNELL, CHARLES C. *Light Over Fatima.* Cork, Ireland: The Mercier Press, Limited, 1947. Pp. 163. \$2.00.
- O Oficio da Imaculada Conceição.* Petropolis, R.J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 64.
- Our Brother. The Death of the Body.* The Rev. Sylvain Pidoux de la Manduere. Trans. by Fr. James Meyer, O.F.M. Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Herald Press. Pp. 35. 20c.
- P. JERONIMO and P. DE CASTRO, C.M. *S. Catarina Labouré.* Petropolis, R.J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 263.
- PALOU, FR. FRANCISCO. *Evangelista del Mar Pacifico.* ESPANA MISIONERA-I. Madrid, Spain: M. Aguilar-Editor, 1944. Pp. xxviii + 317. 22 ptas.
- PFANNENSTILL, BERTIL. *Bernard Bosanquet's Philosophy of the State.* Lund, Sweden: Häkan Ohlsson, 1936. Pp. 319 + Index. 5 kr.
- Proceedings of the National Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.* Boston Massachusetts, October 26-29, 1946. Paterson, N. J.: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine Publ., 1947. Pp. xxvi + 747 + Index. \$3.00.
- Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences.* Edited by Géza Róheim. New York, N. Y.: International Universities Press. Pp. 427. \$7.50.
- RAMSTEIN, REV. MATTHEW, S.T.Mag., J.U.D. *A Manual of Canon Law.* Hoboken, N. J.: Terminal Printing & Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. vii + 747 + Index.

- RODHE, SVEN EDWARD. *Über die Möglichkeit einer Werteinteilung.* Lund, Sweden: Häkan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei, 1937. Pp. 226.
- , *Zweifel und Erkenntnis.* Lund, Sweden: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1945. Pp. 250. Kr. 12:-.
- SCHAAF, VALENTIN, O.F.M. *Saint-Antoine de Padone Docteur de l'Église.* Montreal, Canada: Editions Franciscaines, 1947. Pp. 35.
- SEGERSTEDT, TORGNY T. *The Problem of Knowledge in Scottish Philosophy.* Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1935. Pp. 157. 4 kr. 50 öre.
- , *Value and Reality in Bradley's Philosophy.* Lund, Sweden: A.-B. Gleerupska Univ. Bokhandeln, 1934. Pp. 264. 5 kr.
- VAN MILTBURG, RT. REV. MGR. ALCUIN, O.F.M. *In the Land of the Sindhi and the Baluchi.* A Report on Catholic Activities in Sind and Baluchistan 1935-1947. Karachi, India: Rotti Press, 1947. Pp. 147.
- Writings of Saint Augustine.* Volume 4. THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, New York, N. Y.: CIMA Publishing Co., Inc., 1947. Pp. 472 + Index. \$4.00.



LEARN TO USE A BANK

The wide variety of a bank's services are of incalculable value to its customers and its community.

Learn of the many ways in which you can use FIRST NATIONAL facilities which have been perfected through seven decades of service to Olean and vicinity. Checking, Interest, Safe Deposit, Trust and other facilities are at your command here.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
Olean, N. Y.

Oldest National Bank in Cattaraugus County

MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE

announces the publication of

INTUITIVE COGNITION A KEY TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LATER SCHOLASTICS

by

Sebastian J. Day, O.F.M., Ph.D.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS: Philosophy Series No. 4. Edited by Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. and Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M. Pages xiii, 217; fully indexed; Price \$2.00. To subscribers to Franciscan Studies or Franciscan Institute Publications \$1.50.

The author presents a penetrating historical study of the teaching concerning intuitive cognition in Scotus and Ockham. He intends to enlarge and make more precise our historical understanding of later Scholasticism and to clarify an urgent systematical problem of Neo-Scholasticism. For this reason, he begins his treatise with a critical evaluation of the question concerning the cognition of singular facts as disputed by some Neo-Thomists. He then shows that the same difficulties encountered by these Scholars prompted Scotus and Ockham to develop their theory of direct cognition of singulars. Finally, he suggests that a similar theory should be adopted by the Neo-Scholastics if they intend to have a secure foundation for their philosophy.



The Franciscan Institute

St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

FRANCISCAN BIBLIOGRAPHY
FOR 1946

A world-list of printed materials by or about Franciscans

Compiled by

IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O. F. M.

Librarian, Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure's College
St. Bonaventure, New York

Published by
FRANCISCAN STUDIES

St. Bonaventure, New York

\$.50 per copy

Saint Bonaventure College

Saint Bonaventure, N. Y.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Volume One

THE TRACTATUS DE SUCCESSIVIS

attributed to

WILLIAM OCKHAM

Edited with a study on the life and Works of Ockham by
Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.

Even though the *Tractatus* is only a compilation from Ockham's authentic works, it should be warmly welcomed by students of fourteenth-century philosophy as a valuable addition to our very inadequate library of modern editions of Ockham's writings.

E. A. M. in *The Journal of Philosophy*

Medieval scholars will welcome this first publication of the Franciscan Institute, a scholarly edition of Ockham's treatise.

This is the kind of work which all mediaevalists and students of philosophy will welcome and, perhaps, try to emulate. Modesty, care, precision, understanding and scholarly prudence are the virtues of the good editor; they are well illustrated here. The Franciscan Institute of Saint Bonaventure College is to be commended for the quality of its initial research publication.

Vernon J. Bourke in *The Modern Schoolman*

It is a pleasure to welcome the first number of the promising new series of studies issuing from the Franciscan Institute. And it is especially gratifying to have in easily available form some firsthand material on the thought of one whose work is generally difficult of ready access as is that of William of Ockham.

Ralph M. Blake, in *Traditio*

To subscribers to *Franciscan Studies* \$1.50

\$2.00

Volume Two

TRACTATUS DE PRAEDESTINATIONE ET DE
PRAESCENTIA DEI ET DE FUTURIS
CONTINGENTIBUS

of

WILLIAM OCKHAM

edited

*With a study on the Mediaeval problem
of three-valued logic by*

Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.

This authentic treatise of Ockham throws light on the origin of the so-called Thomistic opinion in regard to God's knowledge of future contingent facts. A careful analysis of the logic of this tract reveals the Medieval logic in some of its excellence and modernity. Further text editions from Ockham and other scholastics of the fourteenth century illustrate the discussion.

\$2.00

To subscribers to *Franciscan Studies* \$1.50

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE

SAINT BONAVENTURE COLLEGE

SAINT BONAVENTURE NEW YORK

ALTARS — SHRINES — PEWS — STALLS
STATIONS — STATUES — CONFESSONALS
and CHURCH FURNISHINGS
in Wood or Marble

•
Write for Information and Prices Today!

THE E. HACKNER CO.

Factory and Studios

LA CROSSE, WIS.

We refer to the following installations:

St. Anthony's — St. Louis, Mo.

Our Lady's — Kansas City, Mo.

St. John's — Cincinnati, Ohio

St. Francis College — Athol Springs,
N. Y.

St. Joseph Seminary — Hinsdale, Ill.

Duns Scotus College — Detroit, Mich.

St. Mary's — Minos, N. Y.

St. Casimir's — Baltimore, Md.

St. John's — New York City

St. Francis of Assisi's — New York City

Greatest Advance
in Candle Making

Root's Bottle Light

The constricted opening means
satisfactory burning winter or
summer.

Root's Rolled Candles

are made by a new process that
means longer burning and greater
strength.

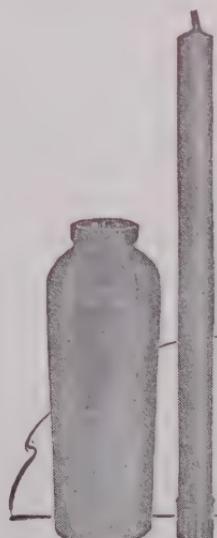
SEND FOR SAMPLE

THE A. I. ROOT CO.

worker in beeswax 79 years

MEDINA

OHIO



FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Announcing
MISSIOLOGY SERIES
VOLUME ONE

Imperial Government and Catholic
Missions in China
During the Years 1784-1785

by
BERNWARD HENRY WILLEKE, M.A.

Pages xiv, 226. Price \$2.00. To Subscribers to Franciscan Studies
or Franciscan Institute Publications \$1.50.

THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE
SAINT BONAVENTURE, NEW YORK

MARY IMMACULATE

The Bull "Ineffabilis Dei" of Pope Pius IX

Translated by Dominic J. Unger, O. F. M. Cap.

A brief but significant work, which gives the matter of a vital papal pronouncement. The Bull deals principally with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; indirectly, the Pope touches on other truths about Mary, and on the dogma of the development of the Church's doctrines.

40 pp., paperbound, \$0.50

Dept. 4-887
ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS
PATERSON 3, N. J.

The Academy of American Franciscan History

announces the publication of

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE SANTA BARBARA MISSION ARCHIVES

BY

MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., Ph.D

Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History;
Bibliographical series, Volume I

Crown quarto; heavy buckram; xiv & 292 pages; fully indexed; \$5.00.
10% discount to Libraries.

The *Calendar* is a most useful archival guide for all interested in the history of the Missions, the history of California and the Southwest in its Spanish, Mexican and American periods, as well as the broader fields of general Hispanic-American history and Indian Ethnology. As such it is a book no library or interested student can afford to be without. It is a basic research tool.

Order from:

THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY
29 Cedar Lane
Washington 14, D. C.

THE ACADEMY PRESS



BARTHOLOMEW MASTRIUS, O.F.M.CONV.
at the age of sixty-two

From a plate in his *Disputationes Theologicae in Quartum Librum Sententiarum*, Venice, 1664
Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, New York

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF BARTHOLOMEW MASTRIUS, O.F.M. CONV.

1602-1673

INTRODUCTION¹

THIS STUDY is concerned with the life and writings of Father Bartholomew Mastrius, O.F.M. Conv., a Scotistic philosopher and theologian of the seventeenth century.

There was a time when an essay about a seventeenth century Scotist needed an extensive introduction to explain there were Scotists—indeed, scholastics of any school—in the seventeenth century. Such an explanation, however, is probably no longer necessary. For Dominique de Caylus and several other writers² have done much to correct the false impression that scholasticism died out from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth. Thanks to the efforts of Caylus and others who followed his lead, it is quite widely acknowledged that the Counter-Reformation brought with it a revival of scholastic theology and philosophy that lasted until the late 1600's. For the sake of completeness, however, further explanation of that revival is given in the body of the present work.³

1. This study was submitted as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

The author wishes to express his thanks to Fr. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., for his direction, and to Frs. Bernward Willeke, O.F.M., Bernardine Mazzarella, O.F.M., Camille, O.F.M.Cap. (of Pointe-aux-Trembles, Canada), and Raphael Huber, O.F.M.Conv., for their valuable help, as well as to his Superiors for the opportunity afforded him to prepare this work.

2. Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement de l'école scotiste," *Études Franciscaines*, XXIV (Juillet, 1910), 5-21; XXIV (Novembre, 1910), 493-502; XXV (Janvier, 1911), 35-47; XXV (Juin, 1911), 627-645, et suite.

Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Skotisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 28-58, 150-175.

Articles in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* on "Duns Scot," "Frères Mineurs," etc.

3. See the beginning of Section II.

We are concerned, then, with the life story of a seventeenth century Scotist, Bartholomew Mastrius, and the works that he wrote. Since this study is, however, an historical one—a bio-bibliography—it does not attempt to analyze the philosophy or theology developed in Mastrius' works.

An appraisal of that kind belongs to the fields of philosophy and theology, where in fact work is being done by two Conventual Friars in Italy. Father Luigi Santoro (S. Croce, Florence) has written a dissertation on the philosophy of Mastrius, and Father Faustino Cassanna (S. Teodoro, Rome) currently is writing one on certain points in Mastrius' theology.⁴

The principal sources for the present study have been Gioanni Franchini's *Bibliosofia*⁵ and the works themselves of Mastrius.

Franchini's authority commands respect for two important reasons: first, he was personally acquainted with Mastrius, both of them having belonged to the same Province in the Order;⁶ secondly, Franchini, as Procurator General of the Order,⁷ had access to official sources of information.⁸

There are, to be sure, certain defects in Franchini's *Bibliosofia*. In praising a man or a community he is often too florid; and by the same token, he is quite reticent and cryptic when there is question of reporting events likely to incite ill feelings among his contemporaries. But on the whole he is a well-qualified authority.

The prefaces to Mastrius' works have a special biographical and bibliographical value. They often explain the circumstances

4. From a bibliography sent to the author by the Most Rev. Bede Hess, O.F.M.Conv., Minister General.

5. *Bibliosofia e memorie letterarie di scrittori Francescani Conventuali ch'hanno scritto dopo l'anno 1585* (Modena: Eredi Soliani Stampatori Duc., 1693).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

7. Edouard d'Alençon, "Franchini," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 720.

8. Prior to his *Bibliosofia* Franchini had published two other works on the Order: *Status Religionis Franciscanae Conventualium* (Rome, 1682); and *De Antiquioritate Franciscana Conventualibus Adjudicata* (Roncione, 1682). E. d'Alençon, "Franchini," *ibid.* So also Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 322. (Further references to Franchini in the present work are to his *Bibliosofia*).

of publication, and thereby link together important events in his career. Frequently these prefaces or forewords are polemic and give us both an insight into his temperament and information about the various controversies in which he engaged. They have the reliability as well as the limitations of any autobiographical material, and in the present study allowance has been made for their subjective viewpoint.

Supplementary sources have varied according to different parts of the thesis. Articles in the *Franciscan Studies*, *Miscellanea Francescana*, *Franziskanische Studien*, *Etudes Franciscaines*, as well as in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, *Encyclopedia Italiana*, and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, have supplied many details of background for various chapters, e. g., on the state of seventeenth century scholasticism, and on the system of education used in the Order. Occasional references to other works have been made throughout and acknowledged accordingly.

Not acknowledged in the text, however, are the several sections in Pastor's *History of the Popes* and in the manuscript of a *History of the Conventuals* by Father Raphael Huber, O.F.M. Conv., which have provided the author with a general familiarity with the history of Italy and the Order of the times.

For the Bibliography of Works by Mastrius—which will appear later in our study—the chief sources have been Franchini, Wadding, John of St. Anthony, Sbaralea, Hurter, Caylus, and of course, the works themselves of Mastrius. A complete list of sources for this part is given as one of the initial references there.

I.

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION

Early Years

Birth, 1602.—Bartholomew Mastrius was born in Meldola,⁹ Italy, in the year 1602, during the night between the seventh

9. Meldola is a small town on the Ronco River (Franchini called it the River Viti) in Province of Forli. Its approximate location is 44° N, 12° E. It lies

and eighth day of December. That this date should correspond to the vigil or to the feast itself of the Immaculate Conception was looked upon by his chief biographer as auspicious of the role Mastrius was to play in helping to make better known the teachings of Duns Scotus, the famous proponent of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰

Family.—The Mastrius family had been long established in Meldola. The relics of one of its kinsmen, Father Andrew Mastrius (who died in 1455),¹¹ were venerated by the people of the town.¹²

The family of Bartholomew's mother, however, was a more recent arrival. Her family, the Pocointesta, had flourished in Ferrara at the court of the famous Este princes.¹³ At the end

about 8 miles west of Cesena, 8 miles south of Forli, 18 miles southwest of Ravenna, and about 55 miles southeast of Ferrara. Karl Baedeker, *Baedeker's Guide Books: Northern Italy* (13th ed. remodelled; Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1906), map. 2. *Baedeker's Guide Books: Central Italy and Rome* (15th ed. revised; Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1909), p. 122. See also *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1934), XXII, 801, for picture and article about Meldola.

Politically the town had been affiliated with Ferrara in the latter's struggle against papal dominion in the sixteenth century. With the fall of Ferrara's ruling house in 1598, Meldola passed into the hands of the Aldobrandini family (relatives and supporters of Clement VIII). One branch of this family became related by marriage to Innocent X's family, the Pamfilio. In view of this circumstance, Mastrius dedicated the second volume of the metaphysics to Innocent X. Giovanni Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 82. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1924), XXIII, 54-56, especially ft. note 3, p. 56. Mastrius, *Disputationes in XII Arist. Libros Metaphysicorum . . . tomus posterior* (Venetiis: apud Ginamum, 1647), letter of dedication.

10. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
11. F.S.P., sacerdos ejusdem Ordinis [Fratrum Minorum Conventualium]. *Aliquot seruorum Dei ac beatorum Ordinis Min: Conuentualium Effigies* a series of printed portraits with short biographical sketches, a copy of which is had in Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio.
12. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis* (Venetiis: apud Michaelem Hertz, 1709), Disp. 28, Quest. 4, Art. 5, par. 131.

13. The family was originally from Cortona, but it had moved to Ferrara during the fifteenth century in the days of Duke Borso. It became one of the twenty-seven noble families "del consiglio di Ferrara." It supplied generals for the wars and diplomats for international politics. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

For a history of the Este family, see: "Ferrara," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., IX, 181; "Este," *ibid.*, VIII, 732; Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Annali d'Italia* (Milano: Dalla Società Tipografica de 'Classici Italiani Contrada del Cappuccio, 1821), XV, 138, 140, 145, and XVIII, index.

of the sixteenth century, however, the colorful Este court was disbanded¹⁴ as Pope Clement VIII re-established the papal claims over Ferrara and its affiliated territory.¹⁵ Many of the courtiers attached themselves to the court of Modena,¹⁶ and it may well have been that at this time the Pocointesta family, or part of it, moved down to Meldola.

Early education.—In this or perhaps some similar way Hipolita Pocointesta came to Meldola. Considering the prominence of her family in Ferrara and that of the Mastrius family in Meldola, we can reasonably suppose that Bartholomew's home was financially well-provided. Such a supposition is in agreement with the kind of education Mastrius received. For we know that he was trained in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and some philosophy before he went away to study for the priesthood.¹⁷ His brothers were also educated.¹⁸ Perhaps they were all educated in one of the private schools of the times.¹⁹ One brother, Antheo, also joined the Franciscan Order and attended, like Bartholomew, the famous St. Bonaventure College in Rome.²⁰

Mastrius' Education in the Order

Entrance to religious life, 1617.—At the age of fifteen, Mastrius left home in answer to what he felt was God's call to religious life. On November 26, 1617, he was invested in the

14. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 415.

15. *Ibid.*, 394.

16. *Ibid.*, 415.

17. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

18. *Ibid.*: "Con più fratelli fù allevato alli studii."

19. Before the decline of the eighteenth century, "the academies and private schools of both secondary and elementary type furnished a well-developed system of schools for Italy during the early centuries of the modern period. These were established by princes, by teachers, by cities, or by private endowment, or by ecclesiastical authority of various types. In some instances where there was an approach to a local system of schools." *A Cyclopedia of Education*, ed. Paul Monroe (New York: Macmillan, 1918), III, 500.

For a picture of the limitations of Italian education in nearly the same period, the latter half of the sixteenth century, see: *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, Allan P. Farrell (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1938), pp. 92 ff.

20. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Franciscan habit and began his year of novitiate with the Friars Minor Conventual at Cesena, eight miles from his native town. A year later he was professed in the Order and was sent to Bologna for studies.²¹

The Order's Educational System²²

Period of transition.—Mastrius' assignment to Bologna in 1618 marked the beginning of over twenty years of work in the schools of the Order, first as a student and later as a teacher. To understand the story of those twenty years, it will be helpful to know something about the Order's educational system of those days.

That system was in a period of transition. In 1619, just after Mastrius began his studies in Bologna, the Minister General, Father James Montanari²³ issued an encyclical letter which inaugurated changes in the plan then being used.²⁴ These innovations were incorporated in the forthcoming constitutions of the Order, the Urban Constitutions of 1628,²⁵ which in lieu of

21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

22. Raphael M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order (1182-1517)* (Milwaukee and Washington, 1944), Part II, chap. viii.

23. P. M. Giacomo Montanari of Bagnacavello in Romagna was elected Minister General in May, 1617, after having served four and a half years as Vicar Apostolic. He held the office of Minister General until 1623, distinguishing himself for his personal holiness and his wise methods of reform in the Order. Part of this important work was the reform of studies introduced in 1619. He died in 1631. Lorenzo Caratelli di Segni, *Manuale dei Novizi e Professi Chierici e Laici Minori Conventuali* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1897), pp. 270 ff. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f., 286-290.

24. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

25. *Constitutiones Urbanae Ordinis Minorum Conventualium auctoritate Pii VII* (Romae, 1823). These Constitutions were confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, May 15, 1628, mitigated by Pope Pius VII, January 10, 1823, and remained substantially in force until the present Constitutions were adopted in 1932. *Manuale de Regula et Constitutionibus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*, P. M. Bede Hess, Min. Gen. (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), p. 54.

Fr. Caietanus M. Stano, O.F.M.Conv. tells us that the changes in studies made by the Urban Constitutions had been inaugurated by Min. Gen. Montanari. But Stano gives the date of Montanari's decree as 1620 instead of 1619 as Franchini (*op. cit.*, p. 288) reports. Stano, *Pontificia Facultas Theologica O.F.M.Conv. in Urbe* (Romae: Editrice "Miscellanea Francescana," 1947 (Estratto da *Miscellanea Francescana*, Vol. 45 (1945), pp. 1-28), p. 8.

Father Montanari's instructions can serve as a guide to an understanding of the Order's educational system.

"Studia" in the Order.—According to the Urban Constitutions, the ancient "studia generalia" and "studia provincialia" of the Order were recast into new forms known as "collegia" and "gymnasia."²⁶ The old *studia* dated back to the first days of the Order. With the early need for educated men the friars had been sent to attend the chief universities of Europe: Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Padua, etc. The friars had lived in their convents and attended classes at the universities. They had also set up their own schools within the convents to prepare their students for more advanced university work. Eventually the various provinces of the Order had become charged with the duty of educating their own friars, and the schools thus set up had become known as "studia provincialia." This was to distinguish them from the "studia generalia," those schools near the large universities to which all the provinces could send men.²⁷

In order to facilitate co-ordination with the universities, the schools of the Order had sought and obtained faculties for granting their students the traditional scholastic degrees. Men thus qualified could teach both in the Order's schools and in the universities.²⁸ From the first, men of the Order like Alexander of Hales, Saint Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus had taught in the universities. And conversely, outside students frequently attended classes in the schools of the Order. Thus, for example, the *studium generalium* at Bologna became practically a theological school of the university.²⁹

26. *Ibid.*

27. Dominicus Sparacio, *Seraphici D. Bonaventurae Ord. Min. Conv. De Urbe Collegii a Sixto V fundati synopsis historica* (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1923), p. 6. See also Stano, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f., and Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 798, 802, 850.

28. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Stano, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

29. At Bologna the Franciscan Friars taught "sacras disciplinas" not only to their own students but to outsiders as well, as shown by a document dated 1236. On March 26, 1249, Innocent IV granted to all ecclesiastical students attending the theology classes of the Friars the same indulgences which the students of theology at the University of Paris enjoyed, though before 1360, the Friars could not grant degrees to their students. On June 21 of that year—1360—Innocent VI issued a Bull establishing the Theological Faculty at Bologna. P. M. Nicolaus

The new "gymnasia".—All this traditional heritage was recast into the clean-cut lines of the new system embodied in the Urban Constitutions of 1628. According to this system a professed friar who had passed an entrance examination spent three years in what was known as a gymnasium of the third class. Young men in this class were called "Beginners" ("Initiati"). They studied philosophy, the elements of mathematics, and (upon the consent of the Prefect) introductory theology.³⁰

After their three years they could, upon passing an examination, be advanced to a gymnasium of the second class. In this second class the friars, known as "Studentes," took up the study of dogmatic theology for three years. This was continued in the gymnasium first class for three more years, an examination and public defense of a thesis intervening. Graduation to this first class seems to have been equivalent to receiving the baccalaureate, for students in that class were known as "*Baccalaurei.*"³¹

The new "collegia".—The final three-year course was called the "Collegium." Here the students, "Collegiales," studied scripture, some dogmatic theology and law, but especially the teachings of some eminent doctor of the Order, like Scotus, Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, Francis de Mayronis, or Richard of Middletown. The College of St. Bonaventure in Rome, however, was to specialize in the teachings of Saint Bonaventure.³²

This institution, founded in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V, was the queen of Conventual colleges. Its enrollment was restricted to a

Papini, O.F.M.Conv., "Minoritae Conventuales lectores publici artium et scientiarum in academiis, universitatibus et collegiis extra ordinem" opus posthumum cum notis et additamentis P. Eliae Magrini; *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXIV (1934), 118, 119.

See also P. M. Francesco Benoffi, "Degli Studi nell'Ordine dei Minore" opera postuma, *Miscellanea Francescana*, XXXI (1931), 151-160, 257-259. . . .

30. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, nn. 2, 3, 4, 13.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, nn. 2, 3, 4, 14.

Though the doctrine and teaching methods propounded by St. Bonaventure were supposed to make up the curriculum of this college, in practice some of the teachers and students were Scotists to some extent. Édouard d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 840.

limited number of the most promising students.³³ Passing its entrance examination was equivalent to receiving the degree *Baccalaureus Licentiatus*. Those who fulfilled the three year course were, without further examination, eligible for the Doctorate and appointment as Regents of Studies by the General Chapter of the Order.³⁴

This then is a broad outline of the educational system in the Order as prescribed by the Urban Constitutions of 1628. In general, Mastrius' career followed the plan, but not in every detail. Perhaps this was due to the experimental stage of these innovations during the 1620's. Or perhaps it was due to Mastrius' unusual abilities; the constitutions permitted exceptions to be made for brighter students.³⁵

Mastrius at Various Schools

At Bologna, 1618-1623(?)—As has been noted above, Mastrius was sent to Bologna in 1618, a year before Minister General Montanari launched the new system. Probably Mastrius completed his philosophy in Bologna and even started theology there before 1621. For on September 28, 1621, he was awarded the Bachelor degree.³⁶ Coming in the fall of the year, at the beginning of the new school year,³⁷ it seems to indicate that Mastrius was being admitted to the gymnasium first class, a theology school.

33. Stano, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.

34. There were three different academic degrees: 1) *Baccalaurius Cursus* or *Lector Biblicus*, who read and interpreted Scripture under the supervision of a *Magister Regens*; 2) *Baccalaurius Regens*, *Cathedraticus*, or *Sententiarius*, who read the Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard under the direction of a *Magister Regens*; 3) *Baccalaurius Licentiatus*, i. e., *sui juris*, who could teach publicly and independently of a *Magister Regens*. But he did not become eligible for appointment as a *Magister Regens* himself until he had conducted classes three years. Sparachio, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

See also J. A. Burns, "Arts, Bachelor of"; "Arts, Faculty of"; and "Arts, Master of," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 756-760.

35. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, n. 5.

36. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

37. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, Tit. IV, n. 15. Classes began Sept. 8, and closed July 14.

During this period of his studies at Bologna, Mastrius published the first of his known works, a poem in praise of Saint Bonaventure.³⁸ Its appearance at this time is an early indication of his capacity to combine arduous study with *belles-lettres*. In his later years he was still fond of composing bits of poetry as relaxation from his more strenuous writing.³⁹

At Parma, 1623.—From 1621 to 1623 Mastrius probably continued his theology at Bologna. By 1623 he seems to have finished what we might call his "undergraduate" studies. For in that year he received appointments which would presuppose this.⁴⁰ First, he was appointed Master of Studies at the Order's school at Parma.⁴¹ But that assignment was superseded by his appointment as Master of Studies at Bologna.⁴²

At Naples, 1623.—To be named Master of Studies at Bologna so young was quite a distinction. But the same year (1623), Mastrius was asked to choose between keeping this important post and going on for further studies. He chose the latter and seized the opportunity to study theology at Naples⁴³ under the renowned professor, Father Joseph Napoli.⁴⁴ Under his guidance

38. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

39. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

40. The Urban Constitutions required that *Lectores* and *Regentes* observe a scale of advancement parallel to that required of the students. For example, no one was to be appointed Regent of a gymnasium first class who had not been Regent of a gymnasium second class for three years. Apparently the regulations were made stricter in 1628, when the Urban Constitutions were adopted, than they were in 1623, for the appointments of Mastrius did not follow the plan. Yet it was common practice in the general educational set-up that instructors of the Bachelor of Arts level be selected only from those who had graduated from the undergraduate school level. See J. A. Burns, "Arts, Bachelor of," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 756 f.

41. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

44. Trapani was an excellent teacher and devoted Scotist. So highly did the Minister General Montanari value him as a teacher that he allowed him to accept the Provincialate of Sicily for one term only and on the agreement that after its fulfillment he would return to his teaching post. He is credited with having first formulated the Scotistic stand on the hotly debated question of Predestination. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Fr. Angelus Volpi da Mone Pelso (d. 1647) made Trapani's theory popular.

Mastrius progressed very well. In fact, master and pupil worked together in defending at Rome, in 1624, Napoli's thesis: *De consursu causae primae cum secunda.*⁴⁵

At Rome, 1625-1628.—The next year, 1625, found Mastrius in Rome again, this time to begin the three year special course at Saint Bonaventure College.⁴⁶ His appointment came at a time when an enlargement of the college endowment permitted an increase in the enrollment from an original twelve to twice that number.⁴⁷

Meets Bonaventure Belluti.—Among the other twenty-three students there was one in particular who was to play a large part in Mastrius' career, Bonaventure Belluti of Catania, Sicily.⁴⁸ The two became fast friends, inseparable in their work for fifteen years.

Belluti was about three years older than Mastrius⁴⁹ and of more quiet temperament.⁵⁰ The chief bond of their friendship seems to have been their common devotion to study. Not even the many cultural attractions of the Eternal City could draw them from their books.⁵¹

One particular problem drew their special attention: the current methods of teaching philosophy in the schools of the Order. They objected to what they considered undue textual explanation. There seems to have been too much emphasis placed on examining, even to grammatical details, the opinions of

It became the accepted Scotistic tradition. (Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 85.)

Volpi, noted for his ability and holiness, taught Scotistic theology at Naples for twenty years. He published there: *Commentaria in I, II, et III Sententiarum Scotti*, 12 vols. in folio. Part of this work was condemned by the Church. Caratelli, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-57.

45. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

46. *Idem.*

47. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, p. 11. By 1787 the enrollment reached 55. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

48. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

49. Belluti died May 18, 1676, at the age of 77. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae Catholicae* (ed. altera; Oeniponte: 1893), II, 20. He was born, therefore, either in 1598 or 1599, making him 3 or 4 years older than Mastrius.

50. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

particular authors on various subjects. Mastrius and Belluti thought this was bridling individual initiative too much.⁵²

Consequently they proposed to develop a whole new course in philosophy. The plan evidently met with the approval of their superiors for they were granted the assurance that they would not be separated in their future work but would be permitted to collaborate in this extensive project.⁵³

With this assurance the two companions pursued their work with even greater enthusiasm. At the end of the *course*, probably in 1628, they were granted the doctoral laureate and sent out to accomplish their chosen work.⁵⁴

Ordination, 1628.—Probably around this same time Mastrius was ordained to the priesthood. His biographers do not give the date, but the regulations of the Council of Trent then in force⁵⁵ required that no one "be promoted to the order of . . . priesthood before his twenty-fifth year."⁵⁶ Mastrius was twenty-five years old in December, 1627.

II.

MASTRIUS' PHILOSOPHICAL WORK

Seventeenth Century Scholasticism

Background.—Armed then with ten years of philosophical and theological education, Mastrius set out upon his career. His times were highly important in the history of European politics and learning. This was the Europe of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Frederick William the Great Elector, the Stuarts, and Oliver Cromwell. It was the battleground of the Thirty Years War and the defeat of the Turks at Vienna; the era of Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Margaret Mary, Bossuet, Jansen, the Port

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. III, Tit. VI, n. 2.

56. Session XXIII, Chapt. XII. (Transl. from *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. J. Waterworth (London: 1848).

Royalists, and the English Deists. It was the world of Kepler, Galileo, and Newton.

Two philosophies.—In this century when Mastrius lived and wrote, two very different schools of European philosophy flourished. One was the Aristotelian-scholastic tradition, then enjoying a grand revival; the other was a new and radical departure, championed by Descartes, Hobbes, Leibniz, Locke, and Spinoza.

That seventeenth century revival of scholasticism has been ignored to a great extent by many historians of philosophy, at least until recently. About fifty years ago, for example, Maurice de Wulf lamented that "in the seventeenth century there was no one to support Scholasticism; it fell, not for lack of ideas, but for lack of defenders."⁵⁷

Such a statement could hardly be supported today in view of the studies made since by Dominique de Caylus,⁵⁸ Bernard Jansen,⁵⁹ and Martin Grabman,⁶⁰ who show that defenders of scholasticism were plentiful.

For though revolutionary advances were not made in this period of scholastic endeavor, nevertheless the frontiers established by masters of an earlier century were being defended vigorously. We would distort the history of seventeenth century if we were to ignore the work done by its scholastic thinkers just because they were not of a caliber equal to St. Thomas or Duns Scotus.

Actually the seventeenth century defense of scholasticism failed to stem the tide of rationalism sweeping over Europe. But it does not follow necessarily that either scholasticism or

57. "Philosophy," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 32.

58. Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux Épanouissement del' École Scotiste au XVII^e Siècle," *Études Franciscaines*, XXIV (Juillet, 1910), 5-21; XXIV (Novembre, 1910), 493-502; XXV (Janvier, 1911), 35-47; XXV (Juin, 1911), 627-645.

59. Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Skotisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 28-58, 150-175.

60. Martin Grabman, *Die Geschichte der Katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit* (Herders Theologische Grundrisse, Freiburg im Breisgau; Herder, 1933), Chapt. II. See also G. Fritz and A. Michel, "Scolastique," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XIV, 1717.

scholastics had been found wanting. Probably they simply had not been found. They failed to stem the tide because they failed to exert an appreciable influence one way or another. They had lost contact with their opponents, partly through the disruption of the Church's bond of unity, partly through preoccupation with theology in an age which was fascinated by the powers of unaided reason.

Emphasis on theology.—It seems to have been necessary that the scholastics were interested primarily in theology; their principal work was to defend and expound the Church's doctrine. This had generally been their preoccupation in the past, and it was their duty in the seventeenth century, when the revival of learning played so important a part in the Counter-Reformation.

The Council of Trent was doubtless the biggest instrument in bringing about this revival. The discussions during the council naturally stimulated considerable theological speculation; the disciplinary decrees issued by the council provided for a program to advance Catholic scholarship.⁶¹

As a result of the council, the later years of the sixteenth century and most of the seventeenth witnessed a revival of scholastic philosophy and theology in those circles where the Church could still exert her influence.

New technique.—The general trend of theology was to study and elaborate on the mediaeval masters. This involved a new technique. Previously, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the standard textbook had been Peter Lombard's *Quatuor Libri Sententiarum*. But with the beginning of the new revival, the *Summa Theologica* of Saint Thomas took its place. Instead of writing commentaries on the Sentences, scholastics now wrote commentaries on the *Summa*.⁶² The classic examples of this type of commentary are the famous philosophical and theological *cursus* of the *Salmanticenses* and *Complutenses*.⁶³ The

61. Grabman, *op. cit.*, p. 154. See also Bernard J. Otten, *A Manual of the History of Dogmas* (second edition, St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1925), II, 478 f.

62. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, 479. See also, Jansen, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

63. See Benedict Zimmerman, "Salmanticenses and Complutenses," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 401 f.

Scotists of the period, including Mastrius, were an exception to this policy.⁶⁴ They continued to write commentaries on the Sentences and on the works of Aristotle, "*ad mentem Scoti.*"

Thomistic scholars.—Within the Thomistic school two main trends developed: the Dominican, which aimed at strict interpretation of the Angelic Doctor; and the Jesuit, which was more in favor of adapting the original teaching to suit the current needs.⁶⁵ The two interpretations came into conflict especially over the doctrine of grace.⁶⁶ Perhaps their relative strength can be judged by the number of theologians Grabman considers important enough to list under each group. He names forty-six "Thomists"⁶⁷ and thirty-five Jesuits⁶⁸ of this seventeenth century period.

Franciscan scholars.—Other Religious Communities also contributed learned men to the cause of studies, but space will permit here a consideration of only the Franciscans, who provide the immediate background for this study of Mastrius. By way of comparison with the Dominican and Jesuit scholars mentioned above, it may be noted that Grabman in that same place lists twenty-six Franciscans, including both Scotists and Bonaventureans.⁶⁹ The number is not complete, but it provides a basis for comparison by selection of the more prominent men in each group.

64. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, 479, 482.

65. Jansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.

66. Otten, *op. cit.*, II, Chapt. XXVII, "School Differences."

67. *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-165.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-172.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-168. Grabman repeats here a quotation that Caylus has in his article in the *Étude Franciscains*, XXIV, July, 1910), 6. It is a quotation supposedly in Caramuel, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*, II, disp. 10. Caramuel is quoted as saying: "Scoti schola numerosior est aliis simul sumptis." But I was not able to trace the quotation. In fact, the arrangement of material in the book is such that the reference, "lib. II, disp. 19," does not seem to make sense. Book II is not divided into *disputationes*.

Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., has the first and another edition of Caramuel: Joannis Caramuelis Lobkowiz, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*. . . . (Frankfort: Schonwetter, 1651-1653), 2 vols. in one; in quarto. The other edition is from Lyons, 1675 sqq.—4 vols. in folio.

There is evidence of a Scotistic rejuvenation already in the early 1500's. Several works appeared in that century before the Council of Trent. Altogether the sixteenth century produced at least twenty-four prominent theological and philosophical writers. P. Raymond lists these, as well as thirty-eight men who wrote on theology in the 1600's, and eighteen who published philosophical works in that same period.⁷⁰

The Bonaventurean school.—An effort was made also to revive greater interest in the doctrine of Saint Bonaventure. The founding of Saint Bonaventure College in Rome by Sixtus V, in 1588,⁷¹ was a step in that direction. And though this college was established among the Conventuals, the Capuchin Friars took more interest in the Seraphic Doctor than either the Conventuals or the Observants.⁷² D'Alençon lists thirteen Capuchin scholastics of the Bonaventurean school in the seventeenth century.⁷³

Bzovius.—In 1616 the Scotistic school received an indirect impetus when Father Abram Bzovius, a Dominican Friar, published his continuation of Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*.⁷⁴ In the course of that work, Bzovius ridiculed Scotus and his followers and included in the attack an unfounded account of Scotus' sup-

70. P. Raymond, "Duns Scot," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV, 1943-1946.

71. See above, Section I.

72. E. d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 840.

73. *Ibid.*, cols. 844-846.

74. Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538-1607) published 12 volumes of his project, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, between 1588 and 1607. Upon his death several other historians were commissioned to continue the work. Baronius had left off at the year 1198. A. Ingold, "Baronius," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 426.

Among the continuators of Baronius' work was Abraham Bzovius (Bzowski), a Dominican Friar (1567-1637). He published volumes 13 to 21 (carrying the *Annales* from 1198 to 1572) between 1616 and 1672—some of it posthumously. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, I, 339.

Bzovius overemphasized the place of Religious Orders in the history of the Church. Mansi writes: "Quantum in rebus monarchorum tradendis copiosi, tantum in rebus Ecclesiasticis sunt parci." *Annales Ecclesiastici denuo excusi et ad nostra usque tempora perducti ab Augustino Theiner* (Barri-Ducis, Ludovicus Guerin, 1870), XX, iv.

posed premature burial.⁷⁵ To the credit of Bzovius' Order it must be noted that the Dominican Master General condemned the abusive attack.⁷⁶

Defense of Scotus.—Bzovius had already incited the indignation of the Franciscans, however, and immediately they began publishing several defenses of the Subtle Doctor and his school.⁷⁷ Father Matthew Ferchio,⁷⁸ a Conventual Friar (of whom more will be said later), and two Observant Friars, Fathers Hugh Cavellus⁷⁹ and Anthony Hickey,⁸⁰ were among the men who published at this time a life and vindication of Scotus.

Spurred to new interest in Scotus, the Franciscans were not content with defensive measures. They published new editions of Scotus' works and continued with increased zeal to teach his doctrine in their schools.⁸¹ Probably the most outstanding man in this project was the Observant Friar, Father Luke Wadding, who (besides his other achievements, in theology and scripture) wrote the extensive *Annales Minorum*, founded the College of Saint Isidore in Rome (1625), and then with the help of the alumni of this college produced a new edition of all Scotus' works (1639).⁸²

75. Bzovius wrote quite a panegyric on the Dominican Order and disparaged the work of the Franciscans. Doninique de Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 9. A copy of Bzovius' attack is printed by Caylus in footnote no. 1, pp. 12 and 13 of that article.

For more information on Bzovius see also: *The Encyclopedia Americana*, V, 112; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 307.

76. Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 9.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

78. *Apologia pro Joanne Duns Scotus . . .* Cologne, 1619; *Correptio Scotica J. D. Scotti . . . vitam et mortem explicans*, Chambery, 1620; *Vita Beati Joannis Dunsii Scotti . . .*, Bologne, 1622, 1623. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2170.

79. *Scoti commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, Accedit vita Scoti, apologia contra Abr. Bzovium . . .* Anvers, 1620. É. d'Alençon, "Cavellus," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 2045 f.

80. *Nitela franciscanae religionis et abstersio sordium quibus eam conspurcare frustra tentavit Abraham Bzovius*, Lyons, 1627. É. d'Alençon, "Hickey," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 2359.

81. Caylus, *op. cit.*, XXV, 36 f.

82. Maurice Grajewski, "John Ponce, Franciscan Scotist of the seventeenth century," *Franciscan Studies*, VI (March, 1946), pp. 60 f.

Other Scotists of the period were the Conventuals, Philip Faber (d. 1630), Maurus Centini (d. 1640), Angelus Vulpes (d. 1647), Francis Pontelonghi (d. 1680), Alexander Rossi (d. 1686); the Capuchins, Jesuald Bologni (d. 1653), Illumine Oddi (d. 1683); and the Observants, John Munoz (d. 1649), John Ponce (d. ca. 1660), Francis Macedo (d. 1681), and John Bosco (d. 1684).⁸³

These writers represent that part of the Scotistic contribution to the general revival of scholastic learning which flourished during the forty-odd years that Mastrius and Belluti were active. Twelve of those forty years the two companions worked together on philosophy. Later they wrote separately in the field of theology, as will be pointed out in the following pages. First to be considered here, however, is their philosophical career.

Philosophical Works

Teaching assignments, 1628-1640.—After receiving their degree from Saint Bonaventure College, Rome, about 1628,⁸⁴ Mastrius and Belluti went to their assignment as Regents of Studies at the Order's school in Cesena.⁸⁵ This means that they were in charge of the school's scholastic program, its students, and its professors.⁸⁶ Though theology was the subject proper to a gymnasium of the second class⁸⁷ (as Cesena was supposed to be),⁸⁸ Mastrius and Belluti were probably teaching philosophy there.⁸⁹

83. É. d'Alençon, "Frères Mineurs," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 841-846.

84. See above, p. 108.

85. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

86. "The Regent . . . is the head of all studies, both of Lectors and Auditors, in all things pertaining to studies. . . ." *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 5, par. 19.

87. *Ibid.*, tit. 4, par. 13.

88. *Ibid.*, par. 23.

89. From Mastrius' own words we learn that both he and his rival John Ponce lectured on the material they later embodied in their philosophical works. In the *Appendix Generalis*, oppositio secunda (*Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, 1708 ed., Vol. III, p. 457) Mastrius defends himself against the accusation of Ponce that he (Mastrius) had copied material from Ponce, perhaps through notes taken by

Within four or five years the two confreres were appointed Regents of Studies at Perugia.⁹⁰ Thereafter they were sent to Padua where at first they taught as public lectors.⁹¹ Later they became Regents of Studies in the Order's school there.⁹² The dates of their various appointments can be ascertained to some extent from the dates of their publications during this period.

Works published in collaboration with Belluti.—The first of Mastrius' and Belluti's philosophical works, a small textbook of logic called *Logica Parva*, was published in 1630 while they were stationed at Cesena.⁹³

They continued to work on logic, preparing a more complete volume. But they laid aside this work for a while, however, to publish their *Disputationes super Libros Physicorum*. The reason for this decision is not clear. Franchini says there was some doubt about whether another Scotist was going to publish a course beginning with physics.⁹⁴ But in what way this influenced Mastrius and Belluti, Franchini does not explain. At any rate their physics was published in Rome, 1637, while they were stationed at Perugia.⁹⁵

Ponce's students. Mastrius answered that the opposite might just as easily have been the case—that Ponce may have seen some of Mastrius' notes. ". . . nam etiam et nostra scripta circumferebantur a Nostris [discipulis], unde continere potuit, quod ad manus quoque suas [Pontii] pervenerint. . . ."

90. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88. This was a gymnasium first class, and therefore supposedly theological. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 4, pars. 13 and 22. It is difficult to determine for certain whether Mastrius and Belluti were teaching philosophy or theology during this whole period of their philosophical publications, i. e., 1630-1640.

91. The Urban Constitutions speak of lectures given within the Order's schools which outsiders could attend. These lectures were called public, as distinguished from those to which outsiders were never admitted. Public lectures were given by Regents or Lectors appointed by the Chapter. Cap. V, tit. 5, par. 16.

92. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

93. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 and 92. Since Mastrius and Belluti did not have time enough during the school year, they worked on this book during their vacation at nearby Meldola, Mastrius' home town.

The date for this publication is given by Mastrius in the introductory "Lectori benevolo," *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, (Venetiis; Valuasensem, 1664).

94. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 88 and 93.

The book was well received; its first edition of 1,000 copies lasted only five years. Letters of congratulations came from several quarters—from Cardinal Centino, a great philosopher and theologian, and from the leading philosophers of Padua, Pisa, Bologna, and Cracovia. Luke Petroschi of the University of Cracovia said the book would be used there as a text in the Scotistic school of philosophy.⁹⁶

Mastrius and Belluti were a growing success. In order to facilitate their work, in 1638⁹⁷ they went to Padua where they would be near the Venetian printing houses.⁹⁸

Their progress at Padua was rapid. In 1639 they published their extended work on logic: *Disputationes in Organum Aristoteli*. Next they published two volumes in rapid succession, both in 1640: *Disputationes in Libros de Coelo, Mundo, Metheoris*, and *Disputationes in Libros de Generatione et Corruptione*.⁹⁹

Their next work, *Disputationes in Libros de Anima*, was the last on which they collaborated.¹⁰⁰ It was probably published in 1640,¹⁰¹ before the partnership was discontinued.

Belluti's departure.—In that year (1640) or the next, Belluti was called back to his native Catena, Sicily.¹⁰² It brought to an

96. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

97. É. d'Alençon, "Belluti, Bonaventure," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

98. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, 93.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

101. Consult the Appendix on Works by Mastrius for dispute on the date of this publication.

See also below, p. 122, note 131.

102. Franchini says it was in 1640. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

É. d'Alençon says that Belluti returned when the third year of their regency at Padua had expired, and that they were in Padua from 1638 to 1641. "Belluti, Bonaventure," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

In 1645, shortly after his return to Sicily, Belluti was elected Minister Provincial. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

He also became Consultor and Censor of the Inquisition in Sicily. Hyacinth Sbaraleae, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci* (editore doct. Attilio Nardecchia; Romae: 1908), I, 186.

Nevertheless Belluti found opportunity to continue his studies. Like Mastrius he turned to theology, writing the following works: *De Incarnatione Verbi*

end his fifteen years of companionship and close collaboration with Mastrius. The two friars had worked well together; "they appeared as two minds in one soul, one soul in two bodies."¹⁰³ Though alike in their scholastic aims, their natural temperaments were nevertheless quite different. Belluti was grave, composed, serious; Mastrius was more gay and pleasant, "*huomo di genio ameno.*"¹⁰⁴ These differences, however, seem to have been more complementary than antagonistic, judging from their long partnership.

In 1640, before Belluti left for Sicily, he and Mastrius were awarded the dignity of Perpetual Definitorship;¹⁰⁵ it was an honor customarily given by the Order to its men who had taught for a number of years.¹⁰⁶

Mastrius completes the philosophy in Ravenna.—After Belluti's return to Sicily, Mastrius finished the philosophy course by himself, according to an agreement that he and Belluti had made.¹⁰⁷ All that the course needed now was a treatise on metaphysics, and Mastrius wrote it in Ravenna while engaged as a theologian in the services of Cardinal Luigi Capponi, Legate to that city.¹⁰⁸

Living as he did in the Cardinal's household, Mastrius had the opportunity occasionally to discuss his work on metaphysics with his host. Later, in dedicating the first volume to him, Mastrius thanked the Cardinal for the help he had given in these discussions.¹⁰⁹

Dei (Catanae: de Rubeis, 1645); *De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, before 1655 (it remained in ms.); *Opuscula moralia, canonica, theologica apparatus miscellaneo digesta* (Catanae: Bisagnum, 1679). Sbaraleae, loc. cit. Belluti died May 18, 1679. Hurter, *op. cit.*, II, 20.

103. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

105. *Definitores Generalis vel Provinciales* were advisers to the Minister General or Provincial. They also had an active voice in electing the Minister General or Provincial. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. VIII, tit. 23.

106. The honor given for teaching was that of *Provincial Definitorship* in their own Province. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. V, tit. 4, par. 9.

107. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

108. *Ibid.*

109. Letter of dedication to *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. libros metaphysicorum* (Venetiis: Ginammi, 1646), Tomus prior.

Mastrius had more time to devote to his own project during the summer of 1644 when Cardinal Capponi was absent from Ravenna to attend the conclave in Rome.¹¹⁰ In 1645 the first part of the metaphysics was approved, but it was not printed until the following year, 1646.¹¹¹ Although the second part was ready for immediate publication, it was postponed until 1647 so that in the meantime the printer could run off a second edition of the logic—lest, as Mastrius remarked—the course be without a head. The previous edition had been completely exhausted.¹¹²

The completion of the metaphysics crowned the work which Mastrius and Belluti had begun some twenty years before.¹¹³

Controversies

It was one thing, however, to complete the philosophy course itself and another to defend it against criticism, as Mastrius learned. His controversies constitute one of the most interesting phases of his career.

His principal opponents were Father Matthew Ferchio and Father John Ponce. There were others as well, but none tested his ability as much as Ferchio and Ponce. Mastrius compared them to two elephants attacking a mouse (himself) with their boisterous efforts to frighten him.¹¹⁴ Upon examining the style

110. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXX, 15.

I was unable to determine when Cardinal Capponi's mission to Ravenna was finished, but it was probably about the time of his appointment to the Prefecture of Propaganda, i. e., sometime after September, 1645. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 191.

111. The dates of approval, August 28, 1645, for the first volume; September, 1645, for the second. The dates of publication: 1646 and 1647. I saw the copy of this edition in Holy Name College Library, Washington, D. C.

112. "Ad lectorem auctorem," in the *Disputationes in libros metaphysicorum*, Tomus prior.

113. Eventually the various philosophical *Disputationes* were gathered together into a "*Cursus integer philosophiae ad mentem Scoti*," the details of which publication are to be found in the Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

114. "Ad lectorem," in the *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*. This particular introduction must have been written for some edition other than the first, perhaps the 1652 or 1659 edition. For in 1640, when the first edition appeared, the controversy with Ponce had not yet begun. The edition I used was the 1708 edition of the *Cursus integer*.

of Mastrius' polemics, however, one wonders if he had not underestimated his own abilities in this comparison.

Against Ferchio.—From 1638 to 1640, Belluti, Mastrius and Ferchio were together in Padua.¹¹⁵ Ferchio had already achieved considerable prominence in the Order by that time. He had been among the very first to defend Scotus against Bzovius, and he had followed up that defense with other works on the Subtle Doctor.¹¹⁶ He had taught in various schools of the Order, and had but recently succeeded to the chair of theology at the University of Padua.¹¹⁷ Mastrius and Belluti, on the other hand, were both about twenty years younger than Ferchio and were comparatively inexperienced at writing philosophy.¹¹⁸

In 1639 Ferchio published his *Vestigationes Peripateticae* wherein he defended the proposition that the term "creation" in Sacred Scripture did not mean production of something out of nothing, but the production of something out of pre-existing matter.¹¹⁹ Since the question was intimately concerned with the problem of the eduction of form from matter, the philosophical authority of Aristotle found its way into Ferchio's arguments alongside the testimonies of Scripture and Tradition.

Mastrius and Belluti attacked the position of their older colleague in their *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*, which they published the following year, 1640. They contended that the conclusions of the *Vestigationes* ran contrary to the constant and traditional interpretation of the Stagirite on substantial form.¹²⁰

In 1646 Ferchio replied with his *Defensio Vestigationum Peripateticarum . . . ab offensionibus Belluti et Mastrii*. The tenor

115. See above, p. 115.

116. See above, p. 113.

117. For life and works of Ferchio see: É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2170-2172; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-453.

118. Ferchio's dates: 1583-1669; Mastrius': 1602-1673; Belluti's: 1598/99-1676.

119. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 and 433.

120. *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione*, Disp. 5, quest. II, art. ii.

of this defense can be judged by the fact that it was condemned by the Holy Office "donec corrigatur," May 12, 1655.¹²¹

Even before the condemnation Mastrius published a counter defense entitled: *Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus, & Mastrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis*. He finished the book in 1647, but it was not published until 1651, and then unfortunately it was marred by typographical and orthographical errors due to the printer's limited acquaintance with Latin.¹²²

Mastrius had also inserted lengthy refutations of Ferchio in the *Disputationes in XII. Arist. Stag. libros Metaphysicorum*,¹²³ and later he included refutations *passim* in the *Disputationes theologicae*. But he referred most of the philosophical problems arising in those theological works back to the philosophy already published.

Meanwhile Ferchio continued to write on various subjects, but nothing was found by the present writer to indicate whether Ferchio continued the debate with Mastrius. Another of his subsequent works, however, was censured by the Church.¹²⁴

During the controversy, and even afterwards, feeling ran high within the Order. But evidently Ferchio's position was not shaken; he continued to hold the chair of theology at Padua until his death, September 8, 1669.¹²⁵

Against Ponce.—In the same year that Ferchio wrote his *Vestigationes Peripateticae*, 1639, an Observant Franciscan was helping Luke Wadding in Rome publish a new edition of Scotus' works. He was Father John Ponce, who had gone from Ireland to the Continent and after having studied in Cologne and Louvain, went to Rome and became one of the first three students at Wadding's new College of Saint Isidore. When he

121. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171.

122. *Ibid.*; see also Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

123. Tom. 2, d. 12, q. 4 ff. It is in this place that Mastrius refutes extensively Ferchio's notion of creation.

124. *Il gusto afflito di Giesu Christo nostro Signore* (Venice, 1663) was condemned by the Holy Office in 1664. É. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171.

125. *Ibid.*, col. 2170.

finished his studies he remained to teach in Rome and to help Wadding with the new edition of Scotus.¹²⁶ It came off the press in 1639.¹²⁷ Some of the commentary which accompanied it was from the pen of Ponce.¹²⁸

Shortly after the new edition was published, Ponce came out with a complete philosophy course entitled: *Philosophiae ad Mentem Scotti Cursus Integer*. This was sometime between 1641 and 1643.¹²⁹ Ponce introduced his work as the first complete Scotistic philosophy. "Cum autem nemo, quod sciam, integrum ante me Philosophiam ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis exegerit,

126. For life and works of Ponce, see: Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (ed. Nardeccchi, 1906), p. 149; Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana* (Matrixi: 1732), II, 205 f.; Hurter, *op. cit.*, I, 396; Maurice Grajewski, "John Ponce, Franciscan Scotist of the Seventeenth Century," *Franciscan Studies*, VI (March, 1936), 54-92.

127. "In 1639 Wadding and his associates published the complete works of Duns Scotus at Lyons in sixteen volumes (folio). This monumental edition, the first ever to be produced, was conceived by Wadding and carried out by him and his collaborators, Hugh Cavellus and John Ponce. Four years were devoted to the preparation of the texts." Grajewski, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

128. "It consists in a commentary on every question of the *Opus Oxonienses* of Duns Scotus, beginning with Book III, distinction 34 and continuing to the end." *Ibid.*, p. 67.

129. Father Grajewski dates the first edition 1643, but he says that he had at hand only the third volume. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The second volume, which I have seen at Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., is dated 1642. Its full title reads: *Integer Philosophiae Cursus ad mentem Scotti in tres partes divisus Secunda pars complectens physicam, & libros de caelo Avtore R. P. Fr. Ioanne Poncio Hyberno Corcaciensi Sac. Theol. Lector Iubilato Romae sumptibus Hermaani Scheus M. D. CXXXII.*

In the 1659 edition of Ponce's *Cursus*, approbations of earlier editions are reprinted, the earliest being Dec. 10, 1641.

The printer of Mastrius and Belluti's second edition of the *Disputationes super libros physicorum*, gives evidence that the first volume of Ponce's *Cursus* was published in 1641. Though this printer does not call Ponce by name, the identification is obvious, especially in view of the controversy which followed. Here are the words of the printer: "Quod autem ego ipse Typographus aegre tuli, est, quod in epistola nuncupatoria Auctor ille sibi applaudit primum fuisse, qui Cursum Philosophicum ex integro in via Scotti in lucem dederit; Quod quantum a veritate distet, ex impressione ipsorum voluminum deprehendi potest, nam Cursus illius Recentioris sub anno 1641. impressus est, at meorum Auctorum Disputationes Physicae sub anno 1637." *Philosophiae ad mentem Scotti Cursus Integer* (Venetiis: Pezzana, 1708), Tomus Secundus, "Ad lectorem Typographus."

P. Raymond, "Duns Scot," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IV, 1945, says that Ponce's *Philosophiae cursus integer* was published in Rome, 1642.

non miraberis intitia suas habere imperfectiones . . . ”¹³⁰ This claim must be tempered with the consideration that his work is much briefer than Mastrius’ and Belluti’s, and that by the time he published it they had given to the public four and perhaps five of their seven volumes, some of which were already out of print.¹³¹

The question of claiming priority is, however, of less importance than the philosophical controversies between Ponce and Mastrius. It was Ponce who opened the debate by attacking an explanation of causality in generation that Mastrius and Belluti made in their *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*.¹³²

An answer was not long in coming. In the next work of Mastrius to come from the press—the revised edition of *Disputationes in octo libros physicorum*, 1644—the printer of the book attacked Ponce with unseeing vehemence. He attempted to show that neither in his conclusions nor in his manner of argumentation was Ponce faithful to Scotus. Mastrius curtailed his own answers in this work because he did not want to make it too bulky; he preferred to postpone most of his arguments until he could devote proper space to the problems in the forthcoming metaphysics.¹³³

Meanwhile Ponce published an *Appendix Apologetica* and added it to his *Cursus*, 1645.¹³⁴ Mastrius, too, added an appendix to his work, *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*; in fact he added two: an *Appendix Generalis* and an *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, the former consisting of ten articles, the latter of fifteen, all against Ponce.¹³⁵

130. This wording of the introduction was taken from the revised 1659 edition in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

131. *Disputationes in libros physicorum*, 1637; — in *organum*, 1639; — in *libros de coelo*, etc., 1640; — in *libros de generatione et corruptione*, 1640; — de *anima*, 1640/41 or 1643. See Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

132. In Ponce: Dispt. XXIII *De Generatione*, Quest. V, n. 35. In Mastrius and Belluti, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, Quest. II, Art. ii.

133. Mastrius, *Disputationes in libros metaphysicorum*, Tom. I, introduction “Ad lectorem Auctor.”

134. Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 69.

135. They appear in Vol. III of the 1708 edition of the *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti Cursus Integer*, pp. 457-492.

Further arguments are to be found *passim* in Mastrius' theological works;¹³⁶ whether Ponce continued the controversy in his own *Theologicae Cursus Integer* and *Commentarii Theologici*¹³⁷ is not evident from the sources at hand.

Ponce and Mastrius disagreed about many ideas, some of them lying close to the core of distinctive Scotistic philosophy. Such, for example, were their arguments over the univocity of the concept of being and about the formal distinction.¹³⁸ In general Ponce did not adhere as strictly to Scotus as Mastrius thought was necessary. Father Grajewski says of Ponce that "he accepts the Scotistic position on principle, but on rare occasions he rises above it—not so much to contradict the doctrine but to disagree with the arguments proposed."¹³⁹

Mastrius did not object to finding other arguments for Scotus' position—for Scotus himself borrowed arguments from others. Mastrius furthermore admitted that Ponce did much to clarify some questions in philosophy. But he challenged Ponce's right to claim allegiance "*ad mentem Scoti*" when he differed from the Subtle Doctor in several conclusions. Moreover, Mastrius did not approve of introducing into Scotistic philosophy, as he claimed Ponce had introduced, the ideas of more recent schools of thought.¹⁴⁰

To what extent Scotistic philosophy can be altered, to what extent it can absorb newer notions and still retain its integrity,

136. E. g., on the contraction of being: *Disputationes theologicae in primum librum sententiarum*, D. 3, Q. 2, art. 2.

137. Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.

138. For a list of differences between the opinions of Mastrius and Ponce, see Mastrius' "Appendix Generalis," *nona oppositio*, to be found in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer* (Venetiis: apud N. Pezzana, 1708), III, 462.

See also the criticism against Ponce written by the printer of Mastrius' and Belluti's second edition of the *Disputationes in libros physicorum*, *Ibid.*, II, "Ad Lectorem Typographus" (in beginning of volume). In this place was found reference to the dispute about univocity of the concept of being and about formal distinction.

See also Grajewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 78, 79, 88, 89, 91.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

140. "Appendix Generalis," *oppositio nona*.

are questions for the philosopher, not the historian. They lie outside the scope of the present study.

Other controversies.—Mention should be made, however, of three other writers with whom Mastrius had occasion to debate, all three his confreres in religion.

Father Alexander Rossi (1608-1686) was at one time a pupil of Mastrius and Belluti at Cesena.¹⁴¹ He advanced several theological objections, and Mastrius answered them in the *Disputationes theologicae in primum et secundum librum sententiarum.*¹⁴²

The other two opponents were Father Francis Pontelonghi (d. 1680), a philosopher,¹⁴³ and Monsignor Modesto Gavazzi (d. 1658), a theologian and Procurator of the Order, whom Pope Alexander VII consecrated Archbishop of Chieti in 1657.¹⁴⁴

Resulting discord.—Of all his opponents, however, none tested Mastrius' acumen as much as Ferchio and Ponce did. He himself admitted this.¹⁴⁵ Undoubtedly the keenness of the debates sharpened the wits of all concerned; unfortunately it also sharpened their words as well, and the brilliance of their scholarship is tarnished by the ill feelings aroused not only among the men themselves, but even among their followers. Franchini, writing some thirty years after the death of Mastrius and Ferchius, was still reluctant to discuss the controversies at all, lest "recently healed wounds of discord be reopened."¹⁴⁶ He treats them solely for the sake of history.

141. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Joannes a S. Antonio, *op. cit.*, I, 35.

142. E. g., that the relations of origin are not beings: I Sent. d. 7, part 3, num. 30-42; and in II Sent., 4 articles in the appendix. These references are cited by Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

143. Lorenzo Caratelli di Segni, *Manuale dei novizi e professi e laici Minor Conventuali sopra la regola, le constituzioni, le memorie e le funzioni dell'ordine coll'aggiunta del catechism di Roma e d'alucune preghiere* (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1897), p. 334.

See also Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 245-251.

144. There were two men named Modesto Gavazzi. They were uncle and nephew, both Friars Minor Conventual. The one referred to here is the nephew. Caratelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 f.; Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 504 f.

145. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

III.

MASTRIUS' THEOLOGICAL WORK

Transition

Additions to the philosophy.—In 1647 after the second volume of *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. Libros Metaphysicorum* had been published and his assignment to Cardinal Capponi had been completed, Mastrius returned to Meldola.¹⁴⁷ He was anxious to reply to Ponce's *Appendix Apologetica*, which had come off the press just as his own metaphysics was being printed. There had been no opportunity in the metaphysics to answer Ponce on questions of natural philosophy (which included *de physice*, *coelo*, *mundi*, *metheoris*, *generatione*, *corruptione*, *et anima*), so Mastrius wanted to publish new editions of the *Disputationes de coelo*, *mundi et metheoris* and *de generatione et corruptione* with rebuttals inserted in their proper places.¹⁴⁸

During this same year he finished writing *Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus*, & Mastrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis, but he was not able to publish it immediately.¹⁴⁹ Nor could he revise the natural philosophy at once. Both delays were due partly to a shortage in materials and to the inability of the printers to take on more work at that time.¹⁵⁰

Minister Provincial, 1647-1650.—But the principal reason for the delay was that on September 17 of that year, 1647, Mastrius was appointed Minister Provincial of the native province of Bologna.¹⁵¹ So for the next three years he was too busy with

147. ". . . while at Ravenna, he (Mastrius) wrote and had printed all the Metaphysics in two volumes. . . . After the Cardinal left, since he had finished his mission, Father Mastrius also left and went back to Meldola." This was certainly before September, 1647, when Mastrius' term as Provincial of Bologna began. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

148. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scotti cursus integer*, III, 457.

149. E. d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, V, 2171; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

150. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457.

151. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

the administration of his Province to do any writing or publishing. Franchini praises his administration in general and adds this one personal detail: Mastrius received him into the Order in December, 1649.¹⁵² None of the sources consulted provided any further details of the provincialate.

A Minister Provincial ordinarily was to be elected by the senior Fathers of the Province.¹⁵³ There were, however, provisions in the Constitutions by which the major superior (in this instance the Minister General) was to fill an office by appointment in the event that a decisive ballot was not cast by the electors within one day.¹⁵⁴ This is probably what happened in Mastrius' case, for he definitely speaks of having been appointed by Father Michael Angelus Cattalanus, the Minister General. And he speaks of the appointment as a kind of recognition or reward for the work he had done in Scotistic philosophy.¹⁵⁵

Although it may have been a reward, the term in office proved to be a hindrance to Mastrius' writing. It delayed his revision of the philosophy and interrupted his study habits, thereby making his transition to writing theology all the more difficult. Nevertheless, when his term as Provincial was completed in 1650, he went back to his studies determined to overcome the handicap.

Illness, 1650-1651.—But again he was delayed, this time because of illness. The winter of 1650-1651 was severe in Italy, and Mastrius, working long hours from the early morning, came down with quartan fever.¹⁵⁶

Upon his recovery he decided to have the *Disputationes de coelo, mundi, et metheoris* reprinted without revision. This would save time and would appease the printers who now were pressing him. In republishing the *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione* (1652), however, he made a few revisions by way

152. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

153. *Constitutiones Urbanae*, Cap. VIII, Titulus 32.

154. *Ibid.*, Cap. VIII, Titulus 3.

155. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457; also his introductory letter "Ad lectorem" to the *Theologia Moralis* (Venetiis: Hertz, 1709). This, the 5th ed. is the one I used at Freidsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

156. Mastrius, *Appendix Generalis*, p. 457; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

of answering Ponce's objections. But he collected most of these rebuttals into an *Appendix Generalis*,¹⁵⁷ which together with an *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, were printed after the *De generatione et corruptione*, most probably in 1652 or 1659.¹⁵⁸ In 1652 a new edition of the *Disputationes in Arist. Stag. de anima* was also published, but nothing further is said about it.¹⁵⁹

Dogmatic Theology

First volume, 1655.—During this same period Mastrius had also begun to write the first volume of his theology. He found the change from provincial administration and philosophy rather difficult to make. It was as if he were starting theology anew. He remarked that it was like going back to the days of his study in Naples, nearly thirty years before.¹⁶⁰ It took him five years (until 1655) to complete the *Disputationes Theologicae in Primum Librum Sententiarum*.¹⁶¹

In his theological works Mastrius did not propose to treat *all* the tracts in the Books of the Sentences; he said there were enough commentaries like that already available. Moreover, he was getting too old to launch so extensive a project. Mastrius therefore limited himself to the controversial tracts.¹⁶² But he gave these such thorough analysis that "it would have taken twenty volumes if he had written about all theology as he wrote about the controversial points."¹⁶³ He believed that an extensive analysis was of the greatest help in securing clarity of thought and expression. Various opinions, he believed, should be treated

157. From the first three paragraphs of the *Appendix Generalis* itself.

158. The copy I saw appears in *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer* (Venetiis: apud Nicolaum Pezzana, 1708), III, 457-492.

159. É. d'Alençon, "Belluti," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 601.

160. "When he would leave the other Fathers of the community to go to his room and study he would say to them, 'Io vado a Napoli' ('I go to Naples'), meaning that it was like going back to his student days of Theology." Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92. This is further evidence that his teaching career from 1630 to 1640 was not of theology but of philosophy.

161. *Ibid.*

162. Mastrius, *Disputationes in primum librum sententiarum*, "Ad lectorem."

163. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

individually. He was not content to group them under a few headings.¹⁶⁴

Second volume, 1659.—Once back in stride, Mastrius was able to finish the next volume in shorter time, by 1657. But this, the *Disputationes in secundum librum*, was delayed almost two years in publication because of bubonic plague which ravaged the principal cities of Italy during 1656-1657.¹⁶⁵

Mastrius was in Rome two years later, 1659, assisting the newly appointed Minister General, Father James Fabretti. While there Mastrius absorbed something of the Romans' enthusiastic response to Pope Alexander's magnanimity. As an expression of this admiration, Mastrius (in the name of the whole Order) dedicated his *Disputationes in secundum librum* to the Holy Father.¹⁶⁶

He presented the document of dedication to the Pope personally, and during the audience, Alexander showed that he was already familiar with Mastrius' work and manner of controversy.

"Where did you learn to be so resentful with your pen in the public press," the Holy Father asked pleasantly.

"I learned it from Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome," Mastrius promptly replied. "They fought for their opinions of interpretation, and not without feeling."

"From such masters," the Pope said, smiling all the while, "you could have learned other things."

Mastrius bowed humbly and received the document back from the Pope, who then changed the subject of conversation to a more pleasant topic.¹⁶⁷

164. Mastrius, *Disputationes in primum librum sententiarum*, "Ad lectorem."

165. Mastrius, *Disputationes in secundum librum sententiarum*, "Lectori auctor."

166. The plague broke out in Naples. By May, 1656, it had spread to Rome. Under the personal supervision of Pope Alexander VII, systematic quarantine curbed contagion to some extent. But even so, during the period between May, 1656, and August, 1657, 15,000 of Rome's 120,000 population fell victims of the plague. Pastor, *op. cit.*, 31-34.

Mastrius, *Disputationes in quartum librum sententiarum*, "Lectori Benevolo." Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

167. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Indices.—In the introduction to this second volume Mastrius points out that he had, at the urging of students, supplied an additional index to the material in the book. The first volume had indices to the *disputationes* and the *quaestiones*, but now a third was added, an *Index Dubiorum*, to indicate the subject matter of the various “dubia” (discussions on doubtful matters) which were scattered throughout the work. At the same time he warned students that they would miss many important articles if they depended solely on the indices.¹⁶⁸

In this same introduction Mastrius promised to publish the third and fourth books of theology very shortly.

Third volume, 1661.—The *Disputationes in tertium librum* appeared in 1661.¹⁶⁹ There is probably an interesting story about the manuscript of this third volume, for Mastrius tells us that it fell into the hands of thieves. But he does not satisfy our curiosity any further than saying the purloined manuscript was recovered through the intercession of Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁷⁰

Vicar General, 1662.—When Mastrius published this third volume of theology he thought he would be able to bring the fourth and final volume to the public within a year. But again his plans had to be changed. For in 1662 the Minister General, Father James Fabretti, appointed him Vicar General of Italy and its adjacent islands during his (the Minister General's) visitation of the remote provinces of Germany. The office lasted for one year, and delayed the publication of the *Disputationes in quartum librum* until 1664.¹⁷¹

Fourth volume, 1664.—In this fourth volume, which concerns the sacraments, Mastrius departed from his usual policy. In the previous three volumes he had limited himself to a consideration of speculative theology; now he introduced some practical discussions as well. Consequently he found it necessary to make

168. Mastrius, *Disputationes in secundum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori Auctori.”

169. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

170. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, letter of dedication.

171. Mastrius, *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori benevolo”; also Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

use of several authors he had not referred to previously. Furthermore, he merely cited the names of these new sources, whereas in the other works he had made it a policy to give the full citation for every source used. (Citations of Scotus and some others were, however, still given in full).¹⁷²

*General Chapter, 1665.*¹⁷³—In the closing words of the fourth volume Mastrius promised to write a moral theology, “*si vita, et sanitas supererint.*” Though he was able to keep this promise as he had kept the others, an incident occurred in 1665 which could well have changed the story. Available references to this incident are not clear, however, and so it is difficult to determine just what happened and what Mastrius’ attitude really was.

In 1665 the General Chapter of the Order convened at Rome to elect a Minister General. Mastrius refers to the election in the introduction to the moral theology, but the full meaning of the reference is not clear. Addressing the reader he says:

Accept, dear reader, this work published at last, which you may accredit to the Seraphic Order, which in the election of superiors is accustomed to use the advice and doctrine of Cardinal de Lugo (disp. 34 de Justitia. & Jure sec. 3, referred to in this present volume at Disp. 6, de obligationibus justitiae distributivae, q. 1, art. 1, dist. 4) but never, or at least very seldom, observes the necessary limitations of that teaching which this very learned author most prudently places there; for if this had been done in the preceding Chapter, perhaps this work of Moral Theology would not have been published, or at least it would have been delayed. . . .

The reference to Cardinal de Lugo which Mastrius made at this point concerns the Cardinal’s doctrine that an electoral body has an obligation to choose the *most capable* man for an office, not just *any capable man*. The implication would seem to be that Mastrius believed the General Chapter had failed to elect the most capable candidate and that as a consequence the *Theologia Moralis* was able to be published. The implication is more

172. Mastrius, *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum*, “Lectori benevolo.”

173. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, “Ad lectorem”; Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

pointed when, in continuing, Mastrius remarks that such a delay would be comparable to that which he suffered on account of his appointment to the provincialate.¹⁷⁴

Still more light is thrown on the situation by Franchini, who tells us that "there was talk about Father Mastrius for General at the General Chapter of 1665." But Franchini's explanation of why Mastrius was not elected is quite cryptic: "Certain clouds between Ravenna and Faenza also shaded the Sun of Meldola." Again, in another analogy, Franchini seems to hint that someone who could not himself win the election hindered Mastrius' chances.¹⁷⁵

For whatever reasons there may have been, Mastrius was not elected Minister General. The available evidence seems too limited, however, to warrant further speculation about the reasons or to justify any definite conclusions about the impartiality of the election.

Moral Theology

Publication, 1671.—Had Mastrius been chosen for the post very likely the *Theologia Moralis* would not have been published, as he himself testified. For he had just passed his sixtieth birthday and the weight of the years made his work more difficult than it had been in his younger days. It took him until 1669, five years, to complete this last book. In June of that year it received official approbation, but for some reason or other it was not published until 1671.¹⁷⁶

Sources.—As is apparent from its full title, *Theologia Moralis ad mentem DD. Seraphici, & Subtilis concinnata*, Mastrius drew

174. There is a curious inconsistency at this point where Mastrius says that his appointment to the Provincialate impeded his progress on the *metaphysics*. According to all other information, his Provincialate began in 1647—the very year that the *metaphysics* was published. The delay he referred to was probably that of the second edition of some of the other philosophical works between 1650 and 1652, right after his Provincialate.

175. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

176. From the title page and letters of approval which I have seen in the first edition, found in Mullin Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

his material for this work from both St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. In the introduction he tells us that he drew also from other approved authors, always trying to avoid extremes of severity and laxity.¹⁷⁷

"*De novissimis.*"—Besides the tracts ordinarily to be found in moral theologies, Mastrius included five disputationes on the last things, viz., "de existentia purgatorii; de caelo, etc. statu beatorum; de inferno, etc. statu damnatorum; de resurrectione mortuorum judicium universale praecedente; et de judicio universale, seu finali post resurrectionem."¹⁷⁸

He admitted that in placing these tracts in a moral theology he was not following the contemporary trend. But he did have a precedent in

the older Theologians . . . who in order to secure more firmly the purpose and scope of Moral Theology, which is to direct the consciences of men in their acts and to restrain them from sins, . . . usually added a treatise of the four last things after a special discussion on the sacraments . . . for there is no more efficacious motive to restrain man from sin than the thought of the last things, according to Ecclesiasticus: in all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin.¹⁷⁹

Final Years

Valedictions.—In writing of the last things perhaps Mastrius had in mind his own approaching death. He seems to have realized that the *Theologia Moralis* was to be his final work. At the end of the introduction he asks his readers to join him in thanking God and in praying for mercy.

Give thanks to God, the giver of all good things, by whose help I have, after forty years, reached an end of scholastic labors. Farewell; pray for me, who for both you and myself beg for mercy in the present life and especially in the future.

As an added gesture of farewell, Mastrius took the opportunity

177. *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem."

178. From the table of contents.

179. *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem"; Ecclesiasticus 7, 40.

to dedicate this and his whole life's work to Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁸⁰

Law.—Notwithstanding these valedictions, Mastrius continued his studies, and even branched out into a new field, that of pontifical law. But any material he may have collected on that subject was never published.¹⁸¹

Church repair.—Another new field into which the aging scholar ventured in the closing years of his life was that of building. The Friars' church in Meldola was in bad need of repairs and Mastrius undertook the supervision of its renovation. The original structure was over four hundred years old, having been erected about 1249, only twenty-three years after the death of Saint Francis.¹⁸² Under Mastrius' direction the church was practically rebuilt. But death intervened before he could see the project finished.¹⁸³

Death and burial.—Mastrius died early in the month of January, 1673, in Medola, where he had been born and spent his childhood, and where he had labored for nearly all the last twenty years of his life. There, in the convent at Meldola, he was also buried. He had lived to be slightly over seventy-one years of age.¹⁸⁴

IV.

MASTRIUS THE MAN

His Abilities

His wide range of abilities.—Mastrius' life was predominately that of a scholar. He spent ten years of it in preparatory studies, twenty years in teaching and writing philosophy, and twenty more in writing theology. But not all his days were spent with books. He served three years as Minister Provincial,

180. There is a long letter of introduction at the beginning of the book.

181. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

182. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, "Ad lectorem."

183. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

and one year as Vicar General. During his philosophical career he was called to Ravenna to serve a Cardinal, and during his theological endeavors the Minister General called him to Rome for assistance. His later days, as has just been seen, found him also engaged in church construction.

His special ability as a writer.—His talents, then, were varied, but his real genius is revealed in the method and style of his writing. In preparing to write a book he would first read extensively on the subject. Then reflecting on what he had read in many sources, he would weigh and classify in his mind the various opinions. Having conceived a detailed plan of the whole topic, he would begin to write rapidly and so accurately (even though he did not use notes) "that you can never find a minor erasure or cancellation in his originals, nor did he make a second copy." When it was finished he would send this original and only copy to the printers.¹⁸⁵

An outstanding feature of his work is the great number of authors whose opinions he cites. His references are a key to what any important philosopher or theologian up to his time had said on the subject under consideration. His works are a veritable library in themselves.¹⁸⁶

In view of such seemingly cumbersome material as this, it is remarkable that Mastrius should have been able to achieve, as he did, a distinctively well-ordered presentation and a style that is at once clear and lively.¹⁸⁷

Naturally Mastrius needed a rather extensive library to follow such a program. Fortunately the convent library at Meldola had been enriched by books that two centuries of learned theologians in the Order had left there. Mastrius moreover had acquired numerous books during his own teaching career. Others were lent to him by friends, such as Father Salvioni Servita Faenitino and another Father, of Forli, who was a former Observant Provincial. Then, too, Cardinal Rossetti da Ferrara,

185. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

186. Franchini said Mastrius deserved the title, "Doctor Ubertoso." *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

187. *Ibid.*

Bishop of Faenza and a great admirer of Mastrius, made his own rich library facilities available to him.¹⁸⁸

His Personality

Provided thus with the books he needed, Mastrius spent long hours each day in study. And yet he achieved a happy facility of interspersing his work with cultural relaxation. Franchini describes this in a passage that tells so much about Mastrius' personality that it deserves to be given here in full.

As soon as he [Mastrius] arose in the morning he buried himself in an alcove on the balcony at the top of the stairs in the convent at Meldola. There he remained until the hour for Tierce, when he would join the other friars to recite the divine office in choir (he never missed choir), and to say Mass. After dinner and Vespers he returned to his books until it was time for Compline.

If time permitted he would go out for a walk, since his doctor had ordered him to take some exercise lest he put on too much weight. He would walk in the shade of the poplar trees along the banks of the canal in Meldola, and because of these strolls the place came to be known as the amiable academy of the congenial Father Mastrius. (*L'Academy di tutta l'amenita di quel bell'ingegno, & humore del P. Mastrio*). After his walk he would return to his studies and spend part of the night at his desk, thus passing most of his life with books.

His self-mastery and the ease with which he carried his talent were remarkable. He was forever lost in books and all day long so wrapt in speculation that his face would fairly glow with the intensity of his concentration. A person would think that it would take hours for him to come out of his reverie and to be himself; and yet no sooner did he put one foot outside his little room than he became the most disengaged man in merry Meldola. When he would meet someone, or if he came across one or the other ugly dog that he had, he became so congenial that you would think he had not been busy at all.

He was certainly an amiable character, light-hearted, clever, cultured, and pleasant. To share his brief recreation (which he usually took along the banks of the Aganippeo Canal in Meldola,

188. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

where his Muses gathered), one would never suspect that he was really the industrious, serious scholar that he was.

Moreover, as when in years gone by his youthful ingenuity found ready poetic expression, so now in his later years the delights of his homeland caught his fancy and he returned to poetry. In moments of leisure he would share his enthusiasm with his Muses by composing sonnets or triplets (being a great imitator of Melosi) with such clarity, vividness, and piquancy that they seemed to be the writings of someone who had nothing else to do.¹⁸⁹

His Spiritual Strength

This picture of Mastrius' character would be incomplete if it did not take into account the traces of his spiritual life as reflected in his writings and as related by his chief biographer, Franchini.

His devotion to Saint Anthony.—The dedication letter of the *Theologia Moralis* reveals something of a naïvete in his devotion to Saint Anthony. It is written in a gay, refreshing style in which Mastrius addresses the saint as though he were a patron, "mecaeenatus," who had provided for him as wealthy Renaissance patrons were wont to support artists and scholars. The whole letter reveals an honest expression of a deep, living faith in Saint Anthony's intercession.

A concrete expression of that faith is to be seen in this, that Mastrius would have Masses sung in honor of the Immaculate Conception and Saint Anthony for the protection of the one and only copy of manuscripts he sent to the printers in Venice.¹⁹⁰ That there were dangers is shown by the fact that once a manuscript fell into the hands of thieves. Its recovery (as we have seen) was attributed to Saint Anthony.¹⁹¹

His acquaintance with Saint Joseph Cupertino.—It was Mastrius' good fortune not only to have experienced at first hand the contagious devotion of Paduans for their favorite saint, but

189. Franchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

190. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

191. Mastrius, *Theologia Moralis*, letter of dedication.

also to have been personally acquainted with a living saint, Father Joseph of Cupertino, a fellow Franciscan of the Conventual Order.

The two friars were practically the same age, Joseph having been born in June, 1603,¹⁹² only six months after Mastrius. Both became followers of Saint Francis; both were ordained priests, probably in 1628.¹⁹³ Joseph, however, died in 1663,¹⁹⁴ ten years before Mastrius.

Apart from these coincidentals, the story of the two friars differs in almost every detail. Mastrius came from a family that was probably quite wealthy. He received an excellent education, wrote admirably on profound topics, held high posts of scholarship and government within the Order, and associated with ease and brilliance in circles of the learned and cultured.

Joseph of Cupertino, on the other hand, was from a desperately poor family. He was so clumsy and slow-witted that he had a difficult, discouraging time qualifying for admittance into the Order; and when he was ordained, it was with only a minimum of book learning.¹⁹⁵

But God chose to pour an over-abundance of grace into the humble soul of Joseph. He was gifted with such extraordinary ecstasy that not once, but frequently, he was lifted high off the ground at the slightest provocation.¹⁹⁶ So much excitement was caused by these manifestations that the Church deemed it best to protect him by hiding him away in various isolated friaries.¹⁹⁷ He was sent from Grotella to Naples to Rome to Assisi to the Capuchin Friars at Pietossa and Fossombrone, and finally to a

192. Angelo Pastrovicchi, *St. Joseph Copertino* (transl. Francis Laing, St. Louis: Herder, 1918), p. 1. See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints* for September 18. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints* (ed. by Thurston, London: Burns, Oates, & Washbourne, 1926 sqq.).

193. Joseph was ordained March 28, 1628. Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, p. 10. It is about Mastrius' ordination that I say it was "probably in 1628." See above, p. 108.

194. "The saint died shortly after midnight following September 18, 1663". Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

195. Pastrovicchi, *op. cit.*, Chapt. I.

196. *Ibid.*, Chapt. IV.

197. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

convent of his own Order in Osimo for the last six years of his life.¹⁹⁸

It was probably while Joseph was in Osimo (1657-1663)¹⁹⁹ that Mastrius made his acquaintance. This seems likely because Mastrius was Vicar General of Italy in 1661, and his duties might well have taken him to Osimo.

At any rate, while talking with his saintly confrere on one occasion, Mastrius complained how studies seemed to draw him away from God. But Joseph assured him that God had made use of his theological teaching to make Himself better known to the world. And besides, Joseph added, Mastrius could serve God also by contemplating Him in a scholarly way. Then in a humorous vein the saint taught his friend a prayer to say before studying:

Signor, tu sei lo spirito, & io la tromba,
Ma senza il fato tuo nulla rimbomba.

Lord, You are the breath, and I am the trumpet;
Unless You do the blowing, no sound will come from it.

The words of the saint caught the fancy of the scholar. Mastrius had this couplet printed in gold letters and hung on his book shelf and desk.²⁰⁰

Any comparison of a saint like Joseph Cupertino with an ordinary person is bound to strike a note of contrast. In comparing him with Mastrius we cannot help recalling some of the latter's shortcomings. There seems to be, for example, a trace of pride in his attitude toward the General Chapter of 1665. And there seems to be evidence of imprudence and uncharitableness in his manner of conducting controversies.

But these limitations should not blind us to the good qualities to be found in his character. I believe that what we know about Mastrius supports the conclusion that he was a man with many of the virtues proper to a serious scholar. He was faithful to

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-112.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

200. Franchini, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

the regulations of community life, doggedly devoted to his work, cheerful, and humble enough to acknowledge his dependence upon God and His saints.

V.

APPRECIATION

Mastrius knew success in his own lifetime. His works were well received by many of his learned contemporaries. After his death his works continued to be successful. In 1678 a printer named Pezzana published the philosophical works under the title: *Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti cursus integer*. Three subsequent editions of this are known to have been published, 1688, 1708 and 1727.

The *Disputationes theologicae* ran five editions between 1675 and 1731; the *Theologia Moralis* did even better. It was reprinted seven times from 1671 to 1731.²⁰¹

Evidently then Mastrius was an accepted authority well into the eighteenth century. But with the general lag of scholasticism and the growing influence of the Enlightenment, the demand for Mastrius declined.

Just what influence he has exerted during the two hundred years since then would be hard to determine. An occasional author refers to him,²⁰² and a few Franciscan professors bring him into the classroom. Some authorities in Franciscana would like to see a new edition of his works published. Whether this would be of genuine value to philosophy and theology is a question for philosophers and theologians to answer.

I believe that it is within the realm of an historian, however, to point out that the popularity of Mastrius' works for nearly one hundred years, roughly 1640-1730, shows that they are deserving of serious consideration. Moreover, Mastrius' copious references to contemporary and previous philosophy and theology

201. For details of publication see the Appendix on Works by Mastrius.

202. Christianus Pesch, *Praelectiones Dogmaticae* (ed. 3^o; Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1911), IX, 416.

make his works valuable as a key to seventeenth century thought and as a bridge to the scholastic tradition before its waning in the eighteenth century.²⁰³

Perhaps Mastrius was not a major figure in the history of philosophy, even within scholasticism. Nevertheless his career is significant in Franciscana. He was a product of Franciscan education; from his youth he absorbed the teachings of the Seraphic and Subtle Doctors. With conviction, as well as with a spirit of loyalty, he devoted his life's work to keeping that tradition alive. Mastrius stands as a noteworthy example of the devotion to learning that has accompanied the development and apostolate of the Seraphic Order from its early years.



203. Dominic de Caylus writes: "The work of Fathers Mastrius and Belluti . . . embraces at once the whole philosophical-theological thought of the Subtle Doctor, and I do not know if the Scotistic school possesses a second treasure of such value. One can perhaps compare the course of these two illustrious Scotists to the Salmanticenses. Mastrius and Belluti are among the first rank of the grand defenders of the doctrine of the Subtle Doctor, and few of the theologians of the seventeenth century are comparable to them. A new edition of their works is greatly to be desired." *Op. cit.*, XXV (Juin, 1911), 633, footnote #3.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS BY MASTRIUS¹

Because of the systematic way in which Mastrius wrote, first on each philosophical tract and then on each successive theological one, a bibliography of his works is readily presented in an arrangement that is to a great extent both topical and chronological, as the following outline will show. (Only the compilations, the polemic against Ferchio, and the poetry have been shifted from their proper chronological sequence).

I. Philosophical works

- A. Those written by Mastrius and Belluti together
- B. Those written by Mastrius alone
- C. The compilation of these into one *cursus philosophiae*
- D. A polemic work against Ferchio

1. In order to make this bibliography of works by Mastrius more serviceable, a separate list of references is herewith provided.

- (1) Giovanni Franchini, *Bibliosofia e memorie letterarie di scrittori Francescani Conventuali ch' Hanno scritto dopo l'anno 1585* (Modena: Soliani, 1693).
- (2) Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (ed. Nardecchia; Romae: 1906).
- (3) Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca universa Franciscana* (Madrid: Typ. Causae V. Matris de Agreda, 1732).
- (4) Hyacinth Sbaraleae, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinem S. Francisci* (ed. doct. Attilio Nardecchia; Romae: 1908).
- (5) Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiae catholicae* (ed. altera; Oeniponte: 1893).
- (6) Dominique de Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement de l'école scotiste," *Etudes Franciscaines*, XXV (Juin, 1911), 632 f.
- (7) Bernard Jansen, "Zur Philosophie der Scotisten des 17 Jahrhunderts," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXIII (1936), 48-51.
- (8) Édouard d'Alençon, "Belluti," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. II, col. 601.
- (9) Édouard d'Alençon, "Ferchio," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. V, col. 2170 ff.
- (10) E. Longpré, "Mastrius de Meldola," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Tom. X, cols. 281 f.
- (11) The works themselves of Mastrius, both the copies examined by the present writer and those described for him by the librarians of several libraries, mostly Franciscan, in the United States and Canada.

II. Theological works

A. Dogmatic

1. as separate publications
2. as compiled into one *cursus theologiae*

B. Moral

III. Poetry

I. Philosophical works

A. Those written by Mastrius and Belluti together

1. *Logica parva*²

Also known as “*Summulistae*”³

Editions: 1st. ca. 1630, in octavo.⁴

Places and dates of subsequent editions not given.⁵

This work was later incorporated into a larger work on logic described in number 3 below.

2. *Disputationes in Aristotelis libros physicorum*.⁶

Also known as: *In octo Libros Physicorum*;⁷ and *Disputationes in octo libros physicorum*.⁸

Editions: 1st. Romae: typ. Grignani, 1637, in quarto, dedicated: “Leopoldo Austriaco Archiduci.”⁹ 1,000 copies made.¹⁰

2nd. revised¹¹ and enlarged by author. Venetiis:

2. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, pp. 88, 92; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227.

3. See no. 3 *infra* for passage from the prologue of the larger work.

4. Written while the authors were Regents at Cesena.

5. “*Logica parva di molte ristampe.*” Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 92.

6. Jansen, “Scotisten des 17 Jahrh.” F. S., XXIII, 48 f.

7. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

8. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, “Merveilleux épanouissement,” E. F. XXV, 632.

9. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

11. Corrections and additions were made, and more complete indices were added. The order of presentation was altered somewhat in view of the work of the Complutenses which Mastrius and Belluti had not seen for the first edition. Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, II, “Ad Lectorem Typographus.”

typ. Ginammi, 1644.

3rd to 5th. Venetiis, typ. Ginammi.¹²

3. *Disputationes in organum aristotelis, quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum tum recentiore jaculis Scoti logica vindicatur.*¹³

Also known as: *Commentarii in Logicam*,¹⁴ and in its second edition as: *In Organum Aristotelis disputationes Logicales*.¹⁵

Concerning the part occupied by the *Logica parva* in this larger work, we have the following explanation by the authors:

Laudabilis admodum est . . . consuetudo ad Logicam questionibus contextam praemittere Dialeticas Institutiones, quae breviter complectuntur omnia, quae fuse tradunt Summlistae, & Arist. in suo Organo, unde inserviunt veluti summa textus totius Logicae, & introductio ad ipsam questionibus contextem.¹⁶

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: 1639,¹⁷ typ. Gynammi, in quarto.¹⁸

2nd. revised and enlarged by author. Venetiis, 1646,¹⁹ typ. Ginammi or Novelli de Bonis.²⁰ This 2nd ed. dedicated: "ad Io: Baptis tam Pallottum Cardinalem."²¹

12. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

13. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

14. Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

15. Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 92.

16. Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, I, Prologue to this particular work.

17. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

18. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

19. Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 92.

20. Franchini, Joannes a S. Antonio, and Caylus credit it to Ginamus; Sbaraleae, to Novelli de Bonis.

21. Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 92. (He does not list the 1st ed.).

3rd. Neapoli: typ. Novelli de Bonis, 1660.²²

4. *Disputationes in libros de coelo et mundo et metheoris.*²³ Also known as: *In Libros de Caelo, Mundo, Metheoris,*²⁴ *Disputationes in libros de caelo et metheoris;*²⁵ *In libros de coelo et meteoris;*²⁶ and *In libros de generat., et corrupt., de caelo, et metheoris.*²⁷

This last-mentioned title indicates that the *Disputationes de coelo, etc.* is to be considered a companion volume to the subsequent *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*. D'Alençon lists them as if they were two volumes of one work published in several editions together.²⁸ Jansen includes *Disputationes de anima* in the same group.²⁹ Franchini, however, lists the three separately in the order presented here.³⁰

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: apud Ginatum, 1640, in quarto, dedicated: "ad Patrum Generalem Berardicellum."³¹

Subsequent editions. Venetiis, 1652 and 1659.³²

5. *Disputationes in libros de generatione et corruptione.*³³ Also known as: *In Libros de Generatione, & Corruptione,*³⁴ and *Disputationes de Generatione et Corruptione.*³⁵

22. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

23. *Ibid.* (both Jo. a S. Ant. and Caylus).

24. Franchini, *Biblosofia*, p. 93.

25. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

26. Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

27. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

28. "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

29. "Scotisten des 17 Jahrh." F. S. XXIII, 49.

30. *Biblosofia*, p. 93.

31. *Ibid.*

32. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Franchini, *Biblosofia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

35. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E. F., XXV, 632.

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: Apud Ginatum, 1640, in quarto, dedicated: "Ad Marcellum Lantes Card."³⁶

Subsequent editions. Venetiis: 1652, 1659.³⁷

6. *Disputationes in Arist. Stag. libros de anima. Quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti philosophia vindicatur.*³⁸

Also known as: *In Libros de Anima;*³⁹ *Disputationes in libros de anima;*⁴⁰ and *Commentarii in libros de anima.*⁴¹

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, in 1640/41 or 1643.⁴²

Subsequent editions. The 1643 ed., Venetiis, Apud Ginatum, in quarto, dedicated: "Ad Cardinal Franciottum."⁴³ Venetiis, 1652, 1671.⁴⁴

B. Written by Mastrius alone

1. *Disputationes in XII Arist. Stag. Libros Metaphysicorum Quibus ab Adversantibus tum Veterum, tum Recentiorum iaculis Scoti Metaph. vindicatur.*⁴⁵

Also known as: *In 12 libros Metaphysicorum.*⁴⁶

36. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227.

37. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

38. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

39. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Wadding, *Scriptores*, I, 38.

40. Joannes a S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, I, 227; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 632; d'Alençon, "Belluti," D. T. C., II, 601.

41. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

42. Jansen (who combines it with *de coelo, etc.*, and *de generatione*, q.v. *supra*) and d'Alençon ("Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601) say this work was published in 1640. Franchini, Joannes a S. Antonio, and Sbaraleae say, 1643. Two arguments in favor of the earlier date: first, this work was the last one that Mastrius and Belluti wrote together, and Belluti returned to Sicily in 1640 or 1641. (Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 112); secondly, Ponce is said to have been able to consult this work before publishing his own in 1641/42. (Mastrius and Belluti, *Philosophiae cursus integer*, II, "Ad lectorem typographus.")

43. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

44. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

45. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y., Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., and Bibliotheque Antonienne, Quebec.

46. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

Editions: Venetiis: apud Ginamum, tomus prior, 1646; dedicated: "Eminentissimi Card. Capponii"; tomus posterior, 1647, dedicated: "Innocentio X, Pont. Opt. Max."⁴⁷

2. *Appendix Generalis* and *Appendix ad Objectiones Apologeticas Poncii*, two brief supplementary treatises against Ponce, printed in the *Philosophiae Cursus Integer*, 1708 ed., Vol. III, pp. 457-463; 463-492 immediately after the *Disputationes de generatione et corruptione*. Very likely they appeared earlier, probably in the 1652 or 1659 edition of these *Disputationes*.

- C. The compilation of these various *Disputationes* into one *cursus philosophiae*, entitled:

Philosophiae ad mentem Scoti Cursus Integer.⁴⁸

Also known as: *Cursus integer philosophiae ad mentem Scoti*.⁴⁹

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, Nicholas Pezzana, 1678, 5 vols. in folio.⁵⁰

2nd. *Ibid.*, 1688.⁵¹

3rd. *Ibid.*, 1708.⁵² This edition, a copy of which is in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., bears on its title page the following continuation: "*Editio Novissima a mendis expurgata*." A similar wording appears on the 1st edition of the compiled theological works, *q. v.*; perhaps it was likewise on the 1st edition of the *cursus philosophiae*. Copies of this 3rd edition

47. From the copy in Holy Name College, Washington, D. C.

48. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

49. D'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

50. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 94.

51. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épouissement," E.F., XXV, 632; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281; d'Alençon, "Belluti," D.T.C., II, 601.

52. Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

were located also in the library of Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio; and in the Convent of St. Joseph, Dorchester Street, Montreal.

4th. *Ibid.*, 1727.⁵³

D. A polemic work against Ferchio, entitled:

*Scotus, & Scotistae Bellutus, & Mastrius expurgati a querelis Ferchianis.*⁵⁴

Also known as: *Scotus et scotistate, Bellutus et Mastrius expurgati a probrosis querelis Ferchianis.*⁵⁵

Editions: Ferrariae: apud Franciscum Succium, 1650 in quarto.⁵⁶

II. Theological Works.

Like the philosophical works, the theological ones were first published separately and then some time later were republished as a unit. Unlike the *Philosophiae cursus integer*, each volume of the theological course probably retained its original title. Probably the title common to all four works was: *Disputationes theologicae in . . . (primum, secundum, etc.) . . . librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scotti theologia vindicatur.* This conclusion seems warranted by the first-hand information available about the 1st editions of volumes two and four, *q. v. infra*.

53. *Ibid.*; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 632.

54. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

This work was published with the assistance of Paul Pinzarino, a physician friend of Mastrius. D'Alençon, "Ferchio," D.T.C., V, 2171.

It was published with many typographical, grammatical, and spelling errors, due to the printer's ignorance of Latin. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

55. Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; d'Alençon, "Ferchio," D.T.C., V, 2171.

56. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

A. The separate publications

1. *In primum Librum Sententiarum.*⁵⁷

Editions: 1st. Venetiis, Hertz, 1655, in folio,⁵⁸ dedicated "ad Franciscum Albitium a Cesena Cardinalem."⁵⁹

2. *Disputationes theologicae in secundum librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum, tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur.*⁶⁰

Also known as: *In secundum Librum Sententiarum Scoti,*⁶¹ *In 2. librum Sent. Scoti.*⁶²

Editions: Venetiis, per Stortum, 1659, in folio,⁶³ dedicated to Pope Alexander VII.⁶⁴

3. *In tertium Librum Sententiarum Scoti.*⁶⁵

Editions: Venetiis, per Valuasensem, 1661,⁶⁶ in folio, dedicated: "ad Lucam Turrisianum Archiepiscopum."⁶⁷

4. *Disputationes theologicae in quartum librum sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus, tum veterum tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti theologia vindicatur.*⁶⁸

57. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

58. *Ibid.*, Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

59. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

60. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

61. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

62. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

63. *Ibid.*, Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

64. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281.

65. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

68. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y., and in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

Also known as: *In quartum Librum Sententiarum Scotti.*⁶⁹

Editions: Venetiis, per Valuasensem, 1661 or 1664, in folio,⁷⁰ dedicated: "ad Gilbertum Borromeum Cardinalem Protectorem Ordinis."⁷¹

The copy of this edition in the Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y., has a portrait of Mastrius as its frontispiece. The inscription beneath the picture reads:

F. Philippus Monti Fauentinus ejusdem ordinis effigiem hanc animo suo iamdiu depositam, page ob ipso delineatam ere incidi curavit in MDCLXV.

B. The *Disputationes theologicae* were published as a unit of four volumes under the title:

*Disputationes theologicae in libros sententiarum quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum tum recentiorum iaculis Scotti theologia vindicatur.*⁷²

Also called: *in quatuor libros Sent. Scotti.*⁷³

69. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

70. Franchini (*Bibliosofia*, p. 93), and Longpré ("Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 281), probably depending on Franchini, date this edition as 1661. But in doing so, Franchini contradicts himself. For he says (*op. cit.*, p. 92) that Mastrius took three years each for *Disputationes in secundum, tertium, et quartum librum*. Since the third volume was published in 1661, the more probable date for the fourth is 1664. Moreover, Mastrius himself, in introducing this later work says that it was delayed until 1664 because of his appointment as Vicar General. Cf. *Disputationes in 4 librum, "Lectori benevolo."*

71. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93.

72. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

73. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123. Sbaraleae's data concerning the *four volume* unit, i. e., the *Disputationes in quatuor libros Sent.*, follows immediately after his data about the *fourth volume* of the original publication, i. e., the *Disputationes in quartum librum Sent.* The two entries are accordingly easy to confuse, but they can be seen to agree with other sources.

The entries read: "*In 4. librum Sent. Scotti iisdem typis Valvasensibus an. 1664. in fol.; postea iterum ibidem an. 1675. 1684, et an. 1698. per Jacobum Hertz; nec non an. 1719. in quatuor libros Sent. Scotti in fol. tomis 4.*"

Editions: 1st. Venetiis: typ. Balleonium, 1675, 4 vols. in folio.⁷⁴ This publication even in its first edition is known as: "Editio novissima, a mendis expurgata et indicibus necessariis locupletata."⁷⁵

2nd. Venetiis: apud Io: Jacobum Hertz, 1684, in folio.⁷⁶

3rd. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1698.⁷⁷

4th. Venetiis: apud Michaelum Hertz, 1719, in folio.⁷⁸

5th. Venetiis: ex Typ. Balleoniana, 1731, in folio.⁷⁹

B. Moral theology

*Theologia Moralis ad mentem DD. Seraphici et Subtilis concinnata, in disputationes vigintiocto distributa.*⁸⁰

It can mean: *In 4 librum Sent. Scoti* was published by the same printer as the 3rd [Valvasensibus] in 1664, in folio. Afterwards it (either the *In 4 librum* or the *In quatuor libros*—the former would be included in the latter anyway) was published in the same place (Venice, but not necessarily by the same printer; hence it could be either Hertz or Balleonium), in 1675. In 1684 and 1698, as well as in 1719, the *In quatuor Sent.* was published by James Hertz, 4 vols. in folio.

Joannes a S. Anton. *Bibliotheca*, I, 188: "*In quatuor libros Sentiarum* (sic) ad mentem Scoti, Tom. 4, in fol. Venet. typis Joannis Jacobi Hertz 1675"

74. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

Caylus, "Merveilleux épouissement," E.F., XXV, 633, says that this was published by Jean-Jacques Hertz.

75. From the copy in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

76. From the copies in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio; Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 93; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

77. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Caylus, "Merveilleux épouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

78. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

79. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

80. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; Biblio-

Also called: *Theologia moralis ad mentem S. Bonaventura, et Scotti.*⁸¹

Editions: 1st. Venetiis. apud Joannen Jacobum Hertz, 1671, in folio.⁸²

2nd. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1683, in folio.⁸³

3rd. Venetiis; apud Hertz, 1688.⁸⁴

4th. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1700, in folio.⁸⁵

5th. Venetiis: apud Hertz, 1709.⁸⁶

6th. Venetiis: 1623,⁸⁷ apud Antonium Mora.⁸⁸

7th. Venetiis: 1731, in folio,⁸⁹ apud Hieronymum Savioni.⁹⁰

III. Poetry

A. A poem in praise of St. Bonaventure, Bologna, ca. 1620.⁹¹

theque Antonienne, Quebec; Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188. (He omits "in *disputationes . . .*"); Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

81. Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 93; Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 282.

82. From the copies in Bibliotheque Antonienne, Quebec; Mullen Library, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; and St. Hyacinth Seminary, Granby, Mass.

Joannes a S. Anton., *Bibliotheca*, I, 188; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633; Longpré, "Mastrius," D.T.C., X, 282.

83. Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 94; Sbaraleac, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

84. From the copies in Holy Name College and the Franciscan Monastery, Washington, D. C.

85. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20; Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

86. From copies in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.; Holy Name College, Washington, D. C.; St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.

87. Caylus, "Merveilleux épanouissement," E.F., XXV, 633.

88. From the copies in St. Anthony-on-Hudson, Rensselaer, N. Y.; and Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

89. Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123; Hurter, *Nomenclator*, II, 20.

90. From the copy in Friedsam Library, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

91. "Vn Poema eroico in lode di S. Bonauentura, che giouinetto stampo in Bologna." Franchini, *Biblioſofia*, p. 93.

Sbaraleae, *Supplementum*, I, 123.

B. Mastrius wrote some more poetry in his later years, but none of it seems to have been published.⁹²

BONAVENTURE CROWLEY, O.F.M. Conv.

*St. Bonaventure's Convent,
Washington, D. C.*



92. Franchini, *Bibliosofia*, p. 98.

THE BASIC SIGNIFICANCE OF KNOWLEDGE FOR CHRISTIAN PERFECTION ACCORDING TO DUNS SCOTUS

THE question concerning the relation between knowledge and action belongs to the most interesting and stimulating chapters of human inquiry. Mankind always comes back to this subject, especially at times when new roads are opened in the history of human thought. The answer to this question, together with many other factors, deeply determines the countenance of the period.

In Christianity this problem becomes the vital question of knowledge in general. The denial of any relation existing between knowledge and life, and in consequence, the rejection of pure knowledge for its own sake, will inevitably lower the value of knowledge before the tribunal of God. There is, of course, no room for such a radical denial within the realm of revealed faith. For it would stamp revelation with the character of senselessness. On the other hand, on the basis of revelation, which emphasizes the sinfulness of man, the Socratic equation of knowledge and action must likewise be rejected. But between both extremes there is still a very wide field. In the past, Christian thinkers were called upon to find the right means.

The Franciscan spirit, from its beginning, was more disposed toward a closer approximation of knowledge and action. In the Order of Friars Minor, knowledge first had to show itself useful for salvation before occupation with it seemed to be justified. In addition, the limits of knowledge were set by the words of St. Francis: *One knows as much as one does.*¹ Truly, a profound and wise expression. Hence, no room was left for pure knowledge for its own sake. It was natural, then, that the Franciscan friends of knowledge were in a special way interested in the inquiry concerning the relation between knowledge and

1. *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. 4, (Ed. Sabatier, 1898), p. 13, 3.

action. Thus, it is obvious that the great Franciscan Doctors accorded to this problem a relatively lengthy treatment.²

In this matter the most profound inquiries were made by the Subtle Doctor, Duns Scotus. In the Order knowledge had developed to the highest degree of maturity. The fight for the right of knowledge was theoretically concluded through the efforts of St. Bonaventure. There was no longer any need to create a living place for knowledge through the explanation of the Rule. Juridical and moral questions in this regard had been settled long ago. For this reason, Duns Scotus could turn his acumen more to the genuine metaphysical and theological realities. His penetrating metaphysical-theological genius naturally pushed him, as it were, into this direction. In addition, he had at his disposal the opinions of the great thinkers, from the ancient Greeks up to St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas.³

The position of the problem had reached its maturity. Many a road had been explored without a satisfactory result. Scotus takes all of this into consideration, makes sharp distinctions and arrives at new conclusions⁴ and for this reason alone, it is worthwhile to study the position of Duns Scotus. Moreover, it seems that up to the present time no one has gone beyond his conclusions; and yet, it is unfortunately true, that the position of Duns Scotus seems to be almost entirely forgotten.⁵

The presuppositions by which Scotus is guided in his inquiry are clearly different from those of Aristotelianism and Thomism.

2. The rather extensive *Quaestio 4* of the Prologue to the *Oxoniense* is the most explicit proof for that. St. Bonaventure also devoted much time, labor and space to this problem. Cfr., for example, his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, which deals mostly with this problem. Before his time, Alexander of Hales and St. Anthony of Padua had done likewise.

3. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 16-31. Scotus discussed the various opinions concerning this problem of theology. St. Bonaventure's solution, according to whom theology is a *scientia affectiva*, is not rejected by Scotus; however, the latter thinks that this expression can be easily misunderstood and is subject to a false interpretation. Cfr. *loc. cit.*, n. 26.

4. We have not found any discussion at Oxford by the predecessors of Scotus concerning this problem. If, in fact, such is the truth, we must attribute an extraordinary originality to Scotus.

5. Even Scotists are not always aware of Scotus' achievement.

The most important difference is to be found in Scotus' characteristic concept of the will, which is liberty and love. For Duns Scotus, the scale of values has its peak not in an act of the understanding but in an act of the will.⁶ The primacy of the will, according to Duns Scotus, not only means that the will is first, or, that the will is first in every respect; rather it means that above all and in a special manner, the intellect is ordered towards the will.⁷ Thus, the will has a real dominion over the soul and over creation subordinated to the soul.⁸ From this it follows immediately that the condition (or position) proper to the intellect and to knowledge is that of a service and of a means or instrument of the will, and that, within the realm of creation. Knowledge, according to Scotus, is essentially ordered towards the will; the will, however, within creation, is essentially free, i. e., the reasons and sources for its acts lie in the will itself.⁹

If then the intellect, its act and habit, is ordered towards the will, there must be a relation between knowledge and sanctity, or Christian perfection.¹⁰ When we read books, in which Christian perfection is explained for the average soul, it would appear to us that there is an irreconcilable opposition between knowledge and sanctity. But the title "Doctor Ecclesiae" which the Church has bestowed upon Saints, who have done great service for the Mystical Body, should prove through their outstanding knowledge,—if in all earnestness it really should need a proof,—, that knowledge and Christian perfection are not in opposition. On

6. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49, q. ex Lat., post 4; *Report. Par.*, IV, d. 49, q. 2. It is impossible at times to quote Scotus in full. In addition, concerning the solution of our problem, it is often necessary to note and study the entire question and particularly the delicate shades of meaning he offers in his answers to objections. It is rather a common feature of Scotistic Philosophy and Theology that his position is often hidden in the background of a lengthy discussion or even in his entire work. Therefore, the necessity of examining the entire text in order to fully comprehend his doctrine.

7. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 49, q. 2. This opinion is found expressed everywhere in a. 4 of the prologue.

8. *Report. Par.*, IV, d. 49, q. 2, n. 6.

9. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un.

10. By knowledge we understand cognitive acts or states *in genere* and not only scientific knowledge.

the other hand, one cannot equate knowledge and sanctity. Christian perfection as grace, that is, insofar as it is the exclusive work of God, is essentially independent of knowledge in the respective individual.¹¹ As regards grace, it matters not whether man knows about it or not. Great and outstanding graces have been granted by God in a manifest manner, but they were also hidden to the intellect, and perhaps oftener in a hidden than in a manifest manner as long as the time of probation lasted. There are many extraordinary Saints who have joined sanctity to great learning. Large, perhaps even larger, is the number of those Saints who besides sanctity did not possess any learning in the proper sense.

The problem is different, however, if we consider Christian perfection insofar as human co-operation with grace is concerned. If this co-operation is "human",¹² that is, corresponding with human nature, and also, by God's ordination, meritorious with regard to the supernatural goal, then it cannot abstract from every knowledge.¹³

Knowledge and sanctity, therefore, are not only different concepts, but are also different things. Nevertheless, they are things ordered toward each other, as intellect and will are ordered

11. This is the teaching of the Council of Trent. In the enumeration of the causes of grace, the Council does not mention knowledge at all, though the enumeration is complete. (Cfr. Denzinger, *Enchr. Sym.*, n. 799. Hereafter, this work will be cited as DB). This fact is clearly emphasized and consequently carried through the entire doctrine of grace as taught by the Subtle Doctor. To the point, he states: "Gratia non potest inesse, nisi a solo Deo creante." (*Oxon.*, II, d. 17, q. un., n. 15). Although this is only an occasional remark, it is, nevertheless, typical of his entire doctrine on grace. The best paradigm of it is the "Analysis Fidei" which, by the way, is closely related to the problem at hand. (Cfr. *Oxon.*, III, d. 23-25).

12. In the sense of the *actus humanus* of moral theology.

13. This relation between human activity and the divine reward is not, according to Scotus, a mathematical relation. It exists, not according to the rules of mere justice, but according to the measure of God's liberality and is based on the divine fidelity in the fulfillment of His promises. Everywhere, it presupposes free acceptation. But the Scotistic doctrine of acceptation does not change the condition that the act of the will, the proper cause of acquired perfection, should be in conformity with a preceding act of the intellect. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 35, 17 ss.

to each other in man. This mutual order, disposed by God himself, reaches into the innermost structure and up to the ultimate effects of human action.¹⁴ Since it is clearly revealed by God Himself, it is not necessary to ascertain the fact of this mutual ordination of perfection and knowledge by laborious reasonings. To human perfection, taken in its full meaning and as it is demanded by God for the state of pilgrimage and in accordance with the supernatural goal, a minimum of knowledge belongs, moreover, to a minimum of sanctity. The minimum of sanctity is the possession of sanctifying grace—a rather high minimum.¹⁵ God is satisfied with it in the case of an innocent child. From others, however, he demands co-operation, and in this co-operation there is included a minimum of knowledge, which is stated by Sacred Scripture in the following words: “Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quia est, et inquirentibus se remunerator sit.”¹⁶ Without this minimum of rational faith, and therefore, of knowledge, “it never happens, that anyone attains justification . . . and eternal life.”¹⁷ For those who have the use of reason, there is no perfection without this minimum of knowledge.

From this it follows that there is, factually at least, a necessary relation between perfection and knowledge, and not simply a loose connection left to the arbitrariness of the individual. Duns Scotus establishes two criteria in order to measure this relation. First, the relation of the intellect to the will, that is of the *ordo potentiarum*;¹⁸ and secondly, the quality of the object known, that is of the *practicabilitas obiecti*.¹⁹ We shall limit our investigation to the *ordo potentiarum* in the creature. We shall especially inquire, whether it is an *ordo causarum* and ascertain Scotus' position to it. We posit, therefore, the following problem: Is

14. Cfr. *Oxon.*, *loc. cit.*, n. ss.

15. Cfr. *DB* n. 800 & 842.

16. *Hebr.* xi, 6. The measure of this minimum is debated. Theologians distinguish between the minimum which is required as a *necessitas medii*, and another which is required as a *necessitas praecepti*. In the present discussion it is important that we note that only a minimum of knowledge is required.

17. As defined by the Vatican Council. Cfr. *DB*, n. 1793.

18. Cfr. *Oxon.*, *Prol. q. 5*, n. 38.

19. *Loc. cit.*, *passim*.

there any knowledge which is in a causal relation to Christian perfection? This problem we shall study in itself and according to Scotus, while the other criterion, established by Duns Scotus, the *practicabilitas objecti*, will be reserved for later investigation.

Christian perfection, or perfection in an unqualified sense, as it was established by God, as the ultimate and necessary goal of rational nature, is God Himself *insofar* as He takes possession of the creature by sanctifying grace. The *formal cause*, the inner structure and the essential element of perfection is sanctifying grace,²⁰ to which is added the supernatural or theological faith, or in heaven, the *Lumen gloriae*.²¹ Neither faith nor the *Lumen gloriae* constitute perfection.²² The essence of perfection, in any case, is in a much closer relation to infused love, and this relation is so close that Scotus even upholds its formal identity.²³ If even supernatural faith and the *Lumen gloriae* do not constitute perfection, then, there is less possibility that knowledge can be its formal cause. In the formal being of perfection, knowledge has no place, be it scholarly or not; neither extensive nor little knowledge, natural or supernatural, theological or secular knowledge. Knowledge does not belong to perfection as *an essential element* and hence it is not an essential part of perfection.

In Christian perfection, however, there is also an element which consists in the co-operation of the creature, viz., the acquired perfection or acquired virtue. According to Duns Scotus virtues are distinguished mainly according to their objects and potencies.²⁴ However, this must not be understood in the sense that their formal being was constituted by them. Their formal

20. Cfr. *DB*, n. 799.

21. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un. In the rejection of their formal identity, Scotus goes further than St. Thomas. Cfr. *Summa Theol.*, I-II, 110, 3; 110, 4, 2; III, 62, 2.

22. *Oxon.*, IV, 49, q. 4. Differently, St. Thomas. Cfr. *Summa*, I, 1, 4; 12, 1-4 and 6-8, and other places.

23. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un., nn. 3-4. Scotus here defines *gratia gratum faciens* and, consequently, Christian perfection, in concise terms: "Illiud propter quod Deus acceperat habens ut dignum beatitudine, et dignitate, quae est in correspondentia meriti ad praemium." According to Scotus, this is formally charity and not Faith or the *Lumen Glorie*.

24. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 10-12 & 44-45.

determination comes about *per aliquid intrinsecum*.²⁵ The virtues, which make man "holy", are virtues of the will, not virtues of the intellect.²⁶ Hence, knowledge does not belong to the formal being of acquired holiness, but stands outside of it.²⁷

About the efficient cause of perfection we have fortunately at our disposal a definition of the Council of Trent: "The efficient cause of perfection is the merciful God, who gratuitously purifies and sanctifies,²⁸ seals and anoints with the Holy Spirit of the promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance."²⁹ Created grace,—that which God effects in order to sanctify the creature—is given to us not by knowledge, but by an omnipotent and free act of God.

Concerning this problem, Scotus has gone a decisive step further than St. Thomas. Peter Lombard identified sanctifying grace with the Holy Ghost.³⁰ During the time of Scotus this error had been already clarified and corrected, so that the Subtle Doctor could simply presuppose that everyone admitted it without entering into a discussion of the problem.³¹ Again, according to Scotus, sanctifying grace is simply created: *Gratia non potest inesse, nisi a solo Deo creante*.³² Since no creature can take part, as the efficient cause, in the act of creation—on this point there is agreement among the Scholastics—creatures cannot participate at all in the production of grace. Scotus also denies this causal efficiency in the doctrine of the Sacraments.³³ It is obvious, then, that knowledge cannot have such a causality. In addition, Scotus expressly denies this causality from the knowledge of Faith.³⁴ The conclusion in this denial holds for acquired knowledge and is, *a fortiori*, certainly warranted.

25. *Loc. cit.*

26. *Oxon.*, III, d. 33, q. un. Vd. especially nn. 12 ss.

27. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 6-7; II, d. 25, q. un.

28. *1 Cor.* vi, 11.

29. *Eph.* i, 13 ss. Cfr. *DB*, n. 799.

30. *Sent.* I, d. 17.

31. Cfr. Lychetus, *Comment. to Oxon.*, I, d. 17, q. 6.

32. Cfr. footnote n. 11.

33. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 1, q. 5.

34. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 27, q. un. n. 2.

Knowledge stands in a closer relation with perfection, when the latter is understood in the sense of the creature's co-operation with grace. In this case, however, knowledge is related to the "becoming", to the growth and being of perfection in no other way than to every rational work of the rational creature: Knowledge is not the efficient cause of the work. It is, however, in relation to the secondary cause (*causa secunda*), viz., the will, prior to that faculty and hence, the act of the will necessarily follows *after* knowledge. And this is necessary in order that the will be in conformity to the intellect in order that its act be ethically good, "rectus".³⁵ This, however, does not entail an efficient causality as regards the act of the will, and in consequence, as Duns Scotus expressly teaches, in regard to sanctity.³⁶

Hence, in no sense can it be said that knowledge is the efficient cause of Christian perfection. Yet, the case would be different if we were to study the relation of God's knowledge to the efficient cause of Christian perfection.³⁷

Among the causes, the final cause is the most important. It is this cause that determines the things up to their ultimate depths; it guides the efficient cause, determines the formal cause and all other conditions. The end of Christian perfection, however, is not knowledge, but the glory of God, of Christ and the salvation of the soul.³⁸ According to Scotus the glory of God consists in charity, and therefore the end of Christian perfection is not the *Visio*, but the *Fruitio*.³⁹ Christianity is not immediately directed towards an act or habit of the intellect, but to an act or habit of the will. Knowledge, even theological knowledge, is only a means to reach the end; not the end itself. Knowledge is means both for grace, or the "ontological sanctity," and for human co-operation, or the "psychological sanctity". However, as we have seen before, it is not the means in the sense of efficient causality.

35. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 3-4.

36. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un.

37. The controversy between the Thomists and Scotists concerning this problem is immaterial here.

38. Cfr. *DB*, n. 799.

39. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49, q. 4.

Likewise, knowledge is not the exemplar cause (*causa exemplaris*) for the becoming, the growth and being of perfection. The object represented by cognition, is to a certain extent exemplar cause; cognition, however, as cognition (*formaliter*) is not. But the function of the object does not belong to the considerations concerning the *ordo potentiarum*. An exemplary cause is, according to Scotus, a sub-species of the efficient cause, viz., the efficiency which belongs to the intellect. This efficiency, however, is limited to cognition, and does not reach to the will.⁴⁰ Knowledge as knowledge, therefore, cannot be the exemplary cause of perfection, since it cannot be efficient cause.

Perfection and knowledge are, from the viewpoint of the material cause, in a similar relation. Perfection as grace, is created.⁴¹ Hence, it has no material cause. Perfection in the sense of human co-operation is a virtue of the will. But a virtue of the will does not consist of habits of the intellect but of habits of the will, or rather it consists in the disposition of the will as the result of repeated acts of the will.⁴² Knowledge, however, is an act or habit of the intellect. The intellect has the task to present to the will the "materia circa quam" of the act of will.⁴³ The intellect or knowledge furnishes the will with the material with which the act of will is concerned, but it is not formally material.

Hence, there only remains, as the last cause, that of the instrumental cause, and, therefore, we may ask: Is knowledge in the relation of an *instrument* to the becoming, growth and being of Christian perfection?

It has been said that knowledge viewed from the material and exemplary cause is a means to sanctity. Knowledge, as the

40. Scotus expresses this in the following words: "Causa exemplaris non (est) . . . nisi quoddam efficiens: efficiens enim dividitur in efficiens per intellectum, sive propositum, et efficiens per naturam. . . . Sicut igitur naturaliter producens non est alia causa ab efficiente, ita nec exemplaris, nec exemplariter producens: et ita idem est effectus, et exemplariter productum alicuius intelligentis in quantum est intelligens, et in quantum exemplans." *Oxon.*, II, d. 35, q. un., n. 5.

41. Cfr. footnote n. 11.

42. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 16-18; III, d. 33, q. un., n. 5.

43. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, nn. 3-5.

means, presents to the will an idea of the perfection to be obtained, and partly, at least, the material which the will has to use in its struggle for perfection. This is true, both for God and the creature as to their respective activity. One might conclude from this that knowledge is only an instrumental cause as regards the becoming and the growth of Christian perfection, but does not play any role in its being. This, however, does not follow. For Christian perfection does not consist in a static state of something achieved once and for all and which now remains in a uniformly enduring state, but it is in a living flux, a continuous becoming throughout all eternity. The creature remains forever contingent. The reason for this eternal flux is that unconquerable contingency of the creature, whilst for God, His eternal vitality is pure actuality. Though it is true that there will not be any progress after the present life has come to an end, nevertheless, sanctity remains living, and knowledge will forever play the role of the instrument which it has already played upon earth; then of course, only in the higher state of the *Lumen Glorie*. Also here upon earth the becoming, the growth, and the being of perfection is not so much the result of knowledge, as it is the work of the creating God and of the created will co-operating with grace.

Only an indirect mediation of perfection can be attributed to knowledge. The will reaches the object only through the intellect; but it embraces it immediately in love.⁴⁴ For this reason, knowledge, *qua knowledge*, is not meritorious for eternal life.

This intermediary role is that which we usually describe as the *causa instrumentalis*.⁴⁵ This may sound strange; it is true, however, that both Saint Thomas and Duns Scotus⁴⁶ accept its causality in the explained sense. The expression is, of course,

44. This is the teaching of Scotus in *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, *passim*. Cfr. *Oxon.*, II, d. 25, q. un., *ex professo*. The efficient cause is not the intellect nor the object of cognition. The intellect is merely the means whereby the object normally reaches the will. It is, therefore, the natural means. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol., q. 4, nn. 3-4.

45. Cfr. *Summa Theol.*, I, 45, 5.

46. Cfr. *Oxon.*, IV, d. 1, q. 1, n. 26.

metaphorical and is taken over from the realm of the mechanical arts or handicrafts. From the connotations of this comparison arose the problem whether the instrument, as regards the effect under consideration, has any causality and, in consequence, any activity in the proper sense or not. From this apparently insignificant question arose the difficult problem of *de concursu*; for, all secondary causes are in the relation of an instrument to the effect. Therefore, the problems of merit are related to it. It is easy to conjecture from the whole context of Scotus' doctrine on grace that, as regards this problem of merit, it led him to the doctrine of acceptation and to deny a proper efficient causality, to a certain extent,⁴⁷ to the instruments playing a role in Christian perfection. Thus the will, properly speaking, has no causality in this regard, and consequently there is no proper merit *de condigno formaliter*.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, it remains true that the intermediary role of the intellect is incommensurably remote from the proper efficient causality as regards sanctity than the will, and that, if we compare both, the will excels to such a degree, that we may attribute an analogous efficient causality (of course, "meritorie tantum") to the will, even insofar as the supernatural is concerned in the proper sense. That this is the case, as regards the co-operation demanded by God, is not denied by Scotus in any form; it is rather the necessary presupposition of his doctrine of acceptation.⁴⁹ He only emphasizes the "effects" of the will ontologically, and for that reason from the viewpoint of value; these effects of the will remain far behind the reward which is given by God to this effect. The correspondence between effect and reward does not originate from the nature of the value of the acts of the creature, but from the commandment of God to perform these acts and from the will of God to reward these acts in this form. It remains true, however, that the reward

47. Cfr. Woestyne, *Scholae Franciscanae Aptatus Cursus Philosophicus*, (Mechel., 1921), p. 353.

48. Cfr. Minges, *Die Gnadenlehre des Duns Skotus*, (Munster, 1906), p. 66 ss.

49. Scotus' concept of liberty and the exclusive efficiency of the will concerning its own act within the realm of created causes is otherwise unintelligible.

corresponds in a mysterious manner to the hierarchy of the acts of creature, and that, in a measure, is based on acceptation.⁵⁰

From this viewpoint, knowledge as the instrumental cause comes closer to perfection, since it is one of the works which God demands for eternal life by fixing a minimum of knowledge which is absolutely required in order to obtain this goal. It follows, however, from the nature of our doctrine of acceptation that this is the case not because of the nature of knowledge or, even because of the nature of perfection itself, but simply because the Divine Will has ordained it that way.⁵¹

But even from the viewpoint of instrumental causality, knowledge is in a different relation to Christian perfection; for either it means grace as such, or, human co-operation. The ordinary means of the communication of grace are the Sacraments of the Church, the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the Church Herself as the Communion of Saints, Her Sacramentals and indulgences. There is a communication of grace through these means, and this communication comes very close to an efficient causality. In fact this communication is so proximate that the Council of Trent, after having called the Sacraments the *Causae Instrumentales* and God the only efficient cause,⁵² in its seventh session could say of these very Sacraments that they contain (*continere*) grace and that they actually confer grace.⁵³ However, the expression commonly used in theology *signum efficax gratiae*, is avoided.

A similar causality in relation to sanctity should be attributed to the *word of God*. One could be led to infer: therefore, to knowledge. However, this is not the case. This causality belongs to the word of God not so much as a means for communicating supernatural ideas, but in the sense of "quasi-sacramentality", which is quite frequently mentioned in recent theology.⁵⁴ By this, theologians do not intend to insinuate that

50. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

51. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ss.

52. *DB*, n. 799.

53. *DB*, n. 849.

54. Cfr. Soiron, *Heilige Theologie*, (Regensburg, 1935). Although Soiron does not use this expression, his explanation would seem to depend on it.

the word of God is a means of passing on ideas, but rather that the word of God, coming from God, is the seed of faith pregnant with divine germs. This seed of Faith does not germinate and develop primarily towards an *intellectus fidei*, but is actually operating and working before this act; that is, as long as immaturity or ignorance, free from guilt, endures.⁵⁵ In the adult, however, God demands a minimum of knowledge. This knowledge, since it is not required previously, is only positively required. It is not, let us say, essentially or ontologically necessary. In any case, here a genuine knowledge enters and is active in communicating grace. Are we free also in this case to speak of a quasi-sacramentality? We believe that the expression is still justified although it should be understood with greater reservation than in the case of the Word of God in the sense of Fr. Soiron. At any rate it is not a conclusion arising from the idea of Christian perfection and from the nature of the knowledge in question, but it is rather a positive ordination of God, which immediately has to be interpreted from the viewpoint of the doctrine of acceptation. It is worthwhile to inquire into this problem.

An entirely different role has to be assigned to the mediating position of knowledge in the human co-operation with grace. We can speak of a real *human* co-operation only when knowledge and free will are joined in action. In this case, knowledge is also the instrument, but an instrument which is conditioned by human nature and by the nature of the respective act, and it cannot be eliminated without essential changes.⁵⁶ In the human co-operation with grace, knowledge plays the same relevant role as in human activity in general. Knowledge and will are deeply and vitally interwoven, since the intellect gives to the will its object, content, direction, motivation and end, and, in so doing, makes the blind striving a lightful loving. The power and the value, the causality and the source, without a doubt, lie in the will; and for this reason the will has the primacy. But this understanding is not simply obsequious but a royal power

55. It is not an easy task to fix the exact meaning of these theories.

56. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 3-5.

(*facultas*), since it is, in the same measure, spiritual and active as the will, though differently, and at a different place. The light of understanding is necessary in order that the volition may become meritorious, and in order that the will may be effective as regards perfection. For, without consciousness, at least as an *intentio habitualis* there cannot be merit. In order to achieve this consciousness the light of knowledge is essentially required.⁵⁷

Let us now investigate in more detail how the instrumental causality of knowledge is related to the becoming, growth and being of perfection, understood in the sense of human co-operation with grace. We will immediately see that knowledge, *qua* knowledge (formaliter), is not the immediate instrument, but rather the content of knowledge. Knowledge, as knowledge, affects communication of grace only mediately. In the case of the will, the act of willing itself is instrumental; in the case of the intellect, however, it is not the act of knowing, but the content of this act. This content is a kind of connecting link between knowing and willing. It is the content which relates knowing, through the act of will, with Christian perfection.⁵⁸

For this reason it is not correct to imagine the relation of cognition to will as if the will would use the intellect in the same manner as a blacksmith uses a hammer. Retaining this comparison, we would rather say that the will uses the intellect as a blacksmith uses a second blacksmith who, with a pair of tongs, holds the glowing iron on the anvil in order that the former may be able to work. Knowledge brings about conditions which are required for the human co-operation with divine grace.

From all that has been said, the relation of knowledge to the becoming, growth, and being of Christian perfection could be best determined with the Scotistic term: *Causa dispositiva mate-*

57. Cfr. Woestyne, *op. cit.*, II (1925), p. 217 ss; especially pp. 335 ss. It does not seem necessary here to quote special texts of Scotus since this doctrine is the basis of his psychology of the process of thought and his teaching on the primacy of the will.

58. Cfr. *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, per totam; II, d. 25, q. un.

rialis mediata.⁵⁹ The *causa dispositiva* is, according to St. Thomas and Duns Scotus,⁶⁰ to be equated with the *causa instrumentalis*, at least approximately and from the point of view under consideration. The former expression, however, would seem to be clearer. We have to add "materialis", since knowledge has the task to provide the will with a content. And "mediata" has to be added, since knowledge not as the act of knowing, but as the content of an act of knowing, exercises this function immediately.

We have to add, however, that there is also a certain direct function of knowledge. Yet, it would be too much to say that this function would make it a *causa dispositiva directa mediata*, without further qualification. For then the very delicate and manifold mutual relation of guidance between will and knowledge would not be correctly expressed. By far the larger number of such relations originate in the will, so that the will has the main burden as well as the main honor of this guidance. Knowledge interferes, but only meditately, viz., through the communicated content, which is not only the object, but also the direction, the motivation and the fixing of an end for the will.⁶¹ The manner of transmitting the content in this broad sense through cognition is not absolutely necessary, since God uses only a secondary cause. But He employs it so that in the realm of natural conditions the will cannot reach beyond the content transmitted by cognition. In mysticism God leads the will much further than the cognition, in comparison with the known con-

59. We consciously avoid the expression "remota", since it may not have the meaning of actuating cause, at least for Scotists; the expression "mediata" is unequivocal.

60. Cfr. footnotes 45 & 46.

61. In *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4. Scotus returns several times to this function of the intellect as, for example, in n. 6. This direct function, which results immediately from the explanation, does not belong formally to the intellect; rather it belongs to the content to which the will conforms itself by its own power: "Cognitionem autem esse priorem naturaliter praxi, et conformem, non est esse conformatam praxi quasi priori; sed esse conformativam praxis, quasi posterioris: sive esse cui praxis sit conformanda, quod est cognitionem dirigere et regulare praxim. Utrum autem sic dirigere, vel conformare sibi praxim sit aliqua efficientia in cognitione, respectu praxis, de hoc 25 dist. secundi libri." *Oxon.*, Prol. q. 4, n. 6. The solution given by Scotus in the place referred to is negative: Cognition has no efficiency as regards the will.

tent, could explain. In such a case, the *causa prima* goes beyond the *causa secunda*. If all this is taken together, then it seems that knowing, *qua* knowing, has only the basic task of a *causa dispositiva materialis mediata*. Perhaps it would be even more exact to say that it is only a *causa disponens materiam*. For cognition does not become the material cause of the co-operation with grace.

As the “*causa disponens materiam*”, cognition does not enter as the efficient cause and even less as the formal cause of Christian perfection, but remains extrinsic to them. However, this again can be misunderstood. The mutual relation is so delicate and subtle that our terms, fashioned for more coarse connections, do not suffice to determine this relation unequivocally. Intellect and will are distinguished only “virtually” in the soul which in its being is simple, and therefore are really identical.⁶² Hence, there results such an intimate “being in each other” in action, that one can attribute to cognition much more than that which formally belongs to it.

Cognition is also an instrument in the being of Christian perfection. However, a new aspect is added: It is a role in the state of glory. For the rest, its relation to perfection remains the same: for in the becoming and in the growth of perfection, it remains the “*Causa disponens materiam*”. Beatitude, properly speaking, does not belong to perfection.⁶³ But it is a gift inseparably bound by God with perfection, and which is, at the same time, gift and reward. Through the unveiled and everlasting beatitude in heaven, which here upon earth is imperfect, perfection, liable to be lost as well as hidden under the veil of Faith, arrives at its real completion. Although perfection and glory are not identical, nevertheless, they are connected and disposed towards one another. It would hardly become the magnanimity of God finally to deny this beatitude to the perfect Christian soul. In eternal beatitude, knowledge, both natural

62. It is, of course, understood that “*virtualiter distincta*” used here does not have the sense of the Thomistic virtual distinction, but rather that of the formal distinction. Cfr. Woestyne, *op. cit.*, II, 504.

63. Cfr. Minges, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

and of glory, is as it were the light by means of which the soul beholds and enjoys all things: God, the whole creation, and the soul's own perfection. Rational beatitude is conscious beatitude. Although beatitude belongs formally in the will and comes to being in the will, nevertheless, it is not as perfect without the light of knowledge as it would be with the light of cognition. Without cognition beatitude might be there, but it is not known, not conscious, and hence is blind. Through cognition the will not only obtains the content in which it fills itself with bliss, but the beatitude itself becomes rational and unveiled. Thus, knowledge is also in the relation of *causa disponens materiam* to the being of Christian perfection and to beatitude.⁶⁴

It may appear from this that the role of knowledge in the fitting growth and being of Christian perfection is not very important. It has only an intermediary role and even that mediately. Nevertheless, it plays an important role. Though we cannot attribute to cognition an immediate causality as regards perfection, and though properly speaking, it always remains outside, nevertheless, it is essential, basic, and according to God's design, normally necessary. Without cognition perfection cannot develop.

The more perfect, comprehensive, deeper and richer knowledge is in every respect, the better it can fulfill its task to present material to the will for Christian perfection. In fact, there is no knowledge which does not serve this task since there is no other ultimate end for rational creatures except Christian perfection. All other knowledge which does not serve this task is vain, i. e., a knowledge which is deprived of the very best that is in it. This is true, especially for Theology. But it is also true for all the other sciences, and, in fact, every branch of knowledge even though it is not classified as a science; all knowledge then, in general, exists only in view of this ultimate and all-embracing task even though it is subordinated to other ends of the science which are more proximate. It is self-evident

64. Cfr. the famous q. 4 in *Oxon.*, IV, d. 49.

that sacred theology approaches this task much more closely. The other sciences form a hierarchic order which, under the point of view of causality, are gradually more and more remote from Christian perfection. The natural sciences, for instance, are in a more mediate relation to Christian perfection than theology. Nevertheless, this mediacy is the ultimate and best in every branch of knowledge.

Hence, that knowledge should be esteemed the most valuable which fulfills this task most perfectly; for only such knowledge will be considered eternally valuable before the Divine Tribunal. In the light of this it is true to say: "One knows only as much as one has done."⁶⁵

Although all knowledge should serve this task, not every branch of knowledge is necessary for man in order to reach, to a minimum at least, this ultimate goal. The necessity of knowledge starts where the minimum of knowledge begins as determined by God. He who possesses this minimum of knowledge has a sufficient knowledge capable of the highest endeavours of the will and the deepest love. God, known in this minimum of knowledge, deserves, in the light of this primary cognition, all love and devotion.

This truth that a minimum of knowledge suffices as a foundation for the mighty edifice of holiness, as related by Saint Bonaventure to Brother Giles, comforted and embosomed the latter in a state of ecstasy for a long time.

Although, theoretically speaking, this minimum of knowledge is sufficient, practically speaking, however, it will never be sufficient. For there are circumstances, tasks, professions and also vocations which demand a greater knowledge. Think, for instance, of the priest, of whom it is said in Holy Writ: "Labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam et legem requirent ex ore eius: quia angelus Domini exercituum est."⁶⁶ If this is true of the priesthood of the Old Testament, how much more so for the priesthood of the New Testament; for Christ has given to His

66. *Malach.* ii, 7.

65. Vd. footnote 1.

priest not only the office of teaching, but also power of teaching. In addition, the priest has the power to judge and to govern the Church of God, and that power is so perfect that beyond the Catholic priesthood there is no court of appeal. Whatever the Catholic priesthood teaches within its fixed limits is taught by Heaven.⁶⁷ These powers demand, according to the design of God, a tremendous amount of co-operation, and this the Church time and again brings home to Her priests. They should distinguish themselves not only by their perfection but by knowledge as well. The knowledge of a priest should be completely in the service of Christian perfection, and that for the priest himself and for all other members of the Mystical Body of Christ. For all and for themselves, through their knowledge, the priests must be "donors of spirit and life".⁶⁸ Thus, they should strive after the highest thing of all: the *Docta sanctitas*.

But elsewhere, too, a larger knowledge is not only advisable but also necessary. The human mind in the possession of only a rude knowledge is not immediately able to evaluate all the consequences of the existence of God. Furthermore, the flood of life is streaming too powerfully, and is carrying with it too many various things and situations, which always have the tendency to distract man's attention. Hence it is necessary to recall to mind time and again the eternal truths, and to grasp them deeper and deeper, if they really will *deploy* their inner power in daily life for the benefit of Christian perfection, as they are supposed to do. This explains the commandments of the Church as regards Christian doctrine: it demands more than the mere minimum. And this, too, explains the ancient and venerable, and, nevertheless, ever new word of Vincent of Lerin: "Crescat igitur oportet et multum vehementerque proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius

67. *Matt.* xviii, 18.

68. St. Francis in his *Testament*.

Ecclesiae, aetatem ac saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia, sed in uno dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, codem sensu, eademque sententia."⁶⁹

KONSTANTIN KOSER, O.F.M.

*Petropolis,
Brazil.*



69. *Commonitorum*, n. 23.

EDITION OF QUAESTIO 10a DIST. 2ae OF OCKHAM'S ORDINATIO

IN PREPARING this preliminary critical edition of the tenth question of the second distinction of Ockham's *Ordinatio* or *Commentary on the First Book of Sentences*, we have examined completely one Incunabula-edition, and the four most accurate manuscripts. Our primary source of the information relative to the description and evaluation of the manuscripts has been the article of Father Philotheus Boehner in *The New Scholasticism* for July, 1942, entitled *The Text Tradition of Ockham's Ordinatio*.

The Incunabula-edition is that of Lyons (1495), which differs so very slightly from the only other edition (Strassburg, 1486) that it was deemed unnecessary to cite the latter. The edition is indicated in the footnotes by E.

The first manuscript of the four studied, presenting the first "redaction", is indicated by F, which stands for Firenze (Bibl. Naz. A. 3. 801). This manuscript was written probably in the first half of the 14th century, that is, before the death of Ockham.

The second manuscript is referred to as T (Troyes 718) written in the early 14th century.

The third manuscript, Ma (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 894) written in the 14th century, is very important because it belongs to a different family from the other three manuscripts studied.

The fourth manuscript, Ob (Oxford, Balliol College 229) was written before 1368 according to the catalogue. With F and T it forms one family of manuscripts, distinct from Ma.

All four of the manuscripts seem to have much better texts than the Incunabula-edition. In particular, it should be noted that all four manuscripts contain a long passage at the end of the text, which passage is omitted almost entirely by the Edition.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS QUESTION

Ockham's title of the question, namely, whether there is only one God, is identical with the one employed by Scotus in his Oxford Commentary on the Sentences. Ockham follows closely with a long and faithful presentation of particular arguments of Scotus, taken almost verbatim from the *Oxonienese*. Thus the first section of this question of Ockham (A to G) is devoted entirely to the arguments of Scotus.

We have checked this portion very carefully with the *Oxonienese* as found in the Vivès Edition as well as in the Assisi manuscript (Assisi, Comm. cod. 137). Our intention was to point out any important differences between these two versions in the passages followed by Ockham. However, there have been no substantial differences which could in any way affect the understanding of this section. The Assisi manuscript does contain many clauses and even sentences not found in the Vivès text. However, Ockham does not cite any of these. On the other hand Ockham often gives the exact wording of the Assisi text, as for example in the title of his question.

In the second section Ockham presents his doubts with regard to particular arguments of Scotus. Even here Ockham frequently quotes Scotus, often to support his own argumentation. In this part of the question we must not look for Ockham's own proof, which is offered elsewhere. Here he examines the proof of Scotus, accepts the main conclusions, and offers his own objections—objections which are directed mainly against the logical procedure whereby Scotus has reached these conclusions. It is clear then, that no attempt is made by Ockham to give a full picture of Scotus' long and painstaking proof. The objections offered by Ockham are directed against certain points in the logical development of Scotus' proof.

OCKHAM'S PRESENTATION OF SCOTUS' PROOF

Ockham repeats Scotus' proof and divides it into two articles according to the arrangement in the *Oxonienese*.

Article 1. The existence of an *Ens Primum*.

- a. Proof of a First Being in efficient causality.
- b. Distinction between causes *per se* and *per accidens*.
- c. Three distinctions between essentially ordered and accidentally ordered causes.
- d. Impossibility of an infinite series of essentially ordered causes, shown by five proofs.

Article 2. Unicity of the First Nature, shown by four proofs.

PORTIONS OF SCOTUS' PROOF OMITTED BY OCKHAM

It may be well to enumerate briefly the portions of Scotus' long proof which Ockham does *not* treat in this question.

- a. Explanation of a proposition *per se nota*, as a preliminary aid to the clarification of our knowledge of God.
- b. Reasons for the selection of an *a posteriori* proof.
- c. Proof that an infinity of accidentally ordered causes is impossible unless based upon essentially ordered causes.
- d. Proof that the First *Effectivum* must exist of itself, if it can exist.
- e. Proof of the existence of a First Final Cause.
- f. Proof of the existence of a First Eminent Nature.
- g. Infinity of the First Nature.

CRITIQUE OF SCOTUS BY OCKHAM

After completing his synopsis of the arguments of Scotus, Ockham presents (G to N) his own doubts and criticisms pertinent to the arguments of Scotus contained in the first article (A to F). Ockham's critique is directed chiefly against (1) the distinction made by Scotus between a *causa per se* and a *causa per accidens*, and (2) the distinctions between essentially and accidentally ordered causes. An article containing a discussion of these differences between Scotus and Ockham is being prepared for *Franciscan Studies* by Father Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M.

Ockham next presents (N) his criticisms of the four-fold proof of Scotus for the unicity of the First Nature, as contained in

the second article (F). Scotus is to be granted his conclusion, states Ockham, and his three last proofs are *probabiles*, although a *protervus* could advance some objections which would be difficult to refute. Here we have the only reference to the demonstrative value of Scotus' proof. We can infer that Ockham did not believe that Scotus had successfully demonstrated (in the strict meaning of the word) the unicity of the first nature, but had given three *probationes*, or arguments leading to moral certitude.

OUTLINE OF CRITIQUE OF FOUR PROOFS FOR UNICITY

- a. Impossibility of two necessary natures, based upon Scotus' doctrine of the *natura communis*.

By several lengthy arguments Ockham rejects this proof as simply false. There is a fundamental disagreement throughout, since Ockham rejected Scotus' notion of a *natura communis*.

- b. Impossibility of two most eminent natures.

Ockham accepts this proof as *probabilis*, but objects that Scotus' statement that forms are like numbers was not sufficiently proved.

- c. Impossibility of two ultimate ends.

- d. Impossibility of two natures upon both of which anything would totally depend.

Ockham simply accepts these last two proofs of Scotus' as *probabiles*, but adds that they could be defended only with difficulty against a *protervus*.

A

Ultimo circa istam partem istius distinctionis quaero:

UTRUM SIT TANTUM UNUS DEUS.*

Quod non, quia ens simpliciter primum est Deus. Sed non est tantum unum ens simpliciter primum.¹ Ergo non est tantum unus Deus.

Maior est manifesta. Minorem probo,² quia non magis est unum simpliciter primum in toto ordine entium quam in aliquo ordine entium determinato. Sed in multis ordinibus entium non est aliquod unum primum; sed est processus in infinitum sicut patet in numeris et in³ figuris,⁴ intellectionibus,⁵ et volitionibus; ergo et cetera. Ad oppositum Exodi tertio:** “Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus unus est.”

B

Circa istam quaestionem, quia omnes intelligunt¹ Deum esse ens simpliciter primum, ideo primo videndum est: utrum sit aliquod ens simpliciter primum² ita quod nihil sit prius eo; secundo,³ an tale ens primum sit praecise unum sine talium pluralitate.

Circa primum dicitur: quod potest probari quod est aliquod ens primum et primitate causalitatis effectivae et primitate causalitatis finalis et primitate eminentiae.

Primum probatur sic: Aliquod ens est effectibile;† aut⁴ ergo a se, aut a nullo, aut ab aliquo alio. Nec a se nec a nullo, manifestum est; ergo ab alio effectivo.⁵

Sit⁶ illud A. Tunc quaero: aut⁷ A est simpliciter primum, et

A 1. *om. FTOB.* 2. *primum add. TOB.* 3. *om. EOB.* 4. *et add. ET.* 5. *intentionibus TOB.*

*Idem titulus—*Oxon. I*, d. 2, q. 3, n. 1; *VIII*, 487.

**Sic omnes mss.; sed textus citatus invenitur in *Deut. VI*, 4, et sic habet *Scotus in loc. cit.*

B 1. *intendunt Ma.* 2. ideo post videndum est utrum sit aliquod ens simpliciter primum *add. Ob.* 3. ideo *FT.* 4. *om. Ma.* 5. *effective FT;* *om. E.* 6. *sicut F.* 7. *illud add. Ma.* 8. *aliquo MaOB.* 9. *Tunc quaero de B repetit FT.* 10. *quaeritur*

habetur propositum, aut non est simpliciter primum et tunc est ab alio⁸ effectibile. Sit illud B. Tunc quaero de B⁹ sicut¹⁰ prius.

Et ita vel erit processus in infinitum vel stabitur ad aliiquid simpliciter primum. Sed impossibile est ponere processum in infinitum. Ergo est status ad aliiquid simpliciter primum.

Et si instetur quod secundum Philosophum in generationibus est ponere processum in infinitum, dicitur quod ista instantia non valet;¹¹ quia philosophi non posuerunt processum in infinitum in causis essentialiter ordinatis, sed tantum in accidentaliter ordinatis.

Circa¹² quod dicunt esse sciendum quod aliud est loqui de causis per se et per accidens, et aliud est loqui de causis per se sive essentialiter¹³ et accidentaliter ordinatis. Nam in primo tantum est comparatio unius ad unum, causae, videlicet, ad effectum; et est causa per se, quae¹⁴ secundum naturam propriam, et non secundum aliiquid sibi accidens, causat; et causa per accidens e converso.‡

C

In secundo autem est comparatio duarum causarum inter se, inquantum ab eis est causatum.¹ Et differunt causae per se sive essentialiter ordinatae a² per accidens sive accidentaliter ordinatis³ in tribus.

Prima differentia est, quod⁴ in per se ordinatis, secunda inquantum causat⁵ dependet a prima: in⁶ per accidens non, licet in esse vel in aliquo alio dependeat.

Secunda differentia est,⁷ quod in per se ordinatis est causalitas alterius rationis, quia superior est perfectior; in accidentaliter ordinatis non. Haec sequitur ex prima; nam nulla causa a causa eiusdem rationis dependet⁸ essentialiter in causando, quia⁹ in causatione alicuius¹⁰ sufficit unum unius rationis.

add. Ma. 11. non valet *marg. Ma.* 12. propter *Ma.* 13. ordinatis *add. Ma.* 14. quod *Ma*; quia *Ob.*

†“Scotus—liber primus, distinctione secunda” / *nota marg. F. Oxon. I*, d. 2, q. 2, n. 11; VIII, 416.

‡*Oxon. I*, d. 2, q. 2, n. 12; VIII, 417.

C 1. ab . . . *transp. EFT.* 2. et *E.* 3. ordinatae *E.* 4. quia *Ma*; *om. E.* 5. causa *E.* 6. sed *Ma.* 7. *om. F.* 8. *T. transp. post* essentialiter. 9. et *ET.* 10. talis *add. Ma.* 11. *om. Ma.* 12. *om. Ma.*

Tertia differentia est, quod omnes causae essentialiter ordinatae necessario simul requiruntur ad causandum; alioquin aliqua per se causalitas deesset effectui. In accidentaliter autem¹¹ ordinatis non est¹² sic, quia non requiritur simultas eorum in causando.

D

Ex his¹ ostenditur: Quod infinitas causarum essentialiter ordinatarum est impossibilis; secundo, quod infinitas accidentaliter ordinatorum² est impossibilis, nisi ponatur status in essentialiter ordinatis.*

Primum probatur primo: quia universitas causatorum essentialiter ordinatorum³ est causata; ergo ab aliqua⁴ causa quae⁵ non est aliquid universitatis, quia tunc esset causa sui ipsius. Tota enim universitas dependentium⁶ dependet, et a nullo illius universitatis.

Secundo, quia causae infinitae essent simul in actu—ex tertia differentia.⁷

Tertio, quia prius est quod est principio propinquius, ex⁸ tertio Metaphysicae;** ergo ubi non est principium, nihil essentialiter est prius.

Quarto, quia causa superior est perfectior in causando, ex secunda differentia; ergo in infinitum superior est in infinitum perfectior, et ita erit⁹ infinitae perfectionis in causando, et per consequens nihil causabit in virtute alterius.

E

Quinto, quia effectivum nullam imperfectionem ponit necessario; ergo potest esse in aliquo sine imperfectione. Ergo potest esse in aliquo sine dependentia ad aliquid prius; ergo et cetera. Consimiliter probat quod est aliquid primum primitate causalitatis finalis et eminentiae, et quod ista triplex prioritas¹ in eodem invenitur.

D 1. istis E. 2. ordinatarum E. 3. *marg. Ma.* 4. alia F. 5. quia F. 6. *om. Ma.* 7. in actu variat Ma. 8. *om. Ma.* 9. esset in F.

**Oxon.* I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 14; VIII, 418.

***op. cit.*, lib. 5, cap. 11, (1018 b 8-29).

E 1. primitas EMa.

F

Ex istis respondet ad secundum articulum quod tale primum¹ est tantum² unum. Circa quod probandum probat³ primo quod tale primum⁴ est necesse esse. Secundo ex hoc arguit quod tale primum⁵ est tantum unum.

Primum sic: Quia si duae naturae sint necesse esse, aliquibus propriis realitatibus⁶ vel rationibus realibus distinguuntur, et dicantur A et B; tunc arguitur⁷ sic: illae rationes reales, scilicet, A et B, aut⁸ sunt rationes formaliter necessario essendi, aut non. —Si sic, et praeter hoc⁹ ista duo per illud in quo¹⁰ convenienter sunt necesse esse formaliter; ergo utrumque duabus rationibus formalibus erit necesse esse: quod est impossibile, quia cum neutra istarum rationum includat alteram, utraque¹¹ istarum circumscripta, erit necesse esse per aliam, et ita erit aliquid¹² necesse esse per¹³ illud,¹⁴ quo circumscripto, nihil minus esset necesse esse.†

Si vero per illas¹⁵ rationes quibus differunt¹⁶ neutrum sit¹⁷ formaliter¹⁸ necesse esse, ergo illae rationes non sunt rationes necessario essendi: et ita sequitur quod neutra includitur in necesse esse; quia quaecumque entitas non est necesse esse, est de se possibilis. Sed nihil possibile includitur in necesse esse, quia necesse esse nihil includit quod non sit necesse esse vel ratio necessario essendi.¹⁹

Secundo probatur idem: quia duae naturae eminentissimae non possunt esse in universo; ergo nec duo prima²⁰ effectiva.—Probatio antecedentis: quia ‘species se habent sicut numeri’ ex octavo Metaphysicae,‡ et per consequens duae non possunt esse in eodem ordine; ergo nec multo magis²¹ duae primae possunt esse nec duae eminentissimae.

Hoc²² etiam probatur tertio per rationem de ratione finis: quia duo fines ultimi²³ si essent, haberent duas coordinationes

F. 1. principium E. 2. nomen add. Ma. 3. EMa transp. post primo. 4. principium E. 5. tale primum om. E. 6. realibus Ma; distinguuntur add. Ob. 7. arguo E. 8. om. Ob. 9. om. F.; haec Ob. 10. quibus Ob. 11. utralibet MaOb. 12. om. Ma. 13. praeter Ob. 14. aliquid E. 15. T. transp. post rationes. 16. different Ma. 17. esset Ma. 18. om. Ma. 19. Sequentia usque ad . . . istam triplicem primitatem. om. FMA. 20. om. E. 21. multo magis om. E. 22. adhuc

entium ad se, ita quod ista entia ad illa nullum ordinem haberent, quia nec ad finem illorum; nam quae ordinarentur ad unum finem ultimum non possunt²⁴ ordinari ad aliud, quia eiusdem causati duas esse causas totales vel perfectas in eodem ordine, est impossible. Tunc enim aliquid esset in aliquo ordine causa,²⁵ quo non posito, nihil minus esset perfecte²⁶ causatum; ordinata ergo ad unum finem ultimum nullo modo ordinarentur ad aliud,²⁷ et ita ex his et ex²⁸ illis nullo modo fieret²⁹ unum universum.

Hoc confirmatur in communi,³⁰ quia nulla duo terminantia possunt terminare³¹ totaliter³² dependentiam alicuius unius et³³ eiusdem, quia tunc illud terminaret dependentiam, quo subtracto, nihil minus terminaretur illa³⁴ dependentia; et ita non esset dependentia ad illud. Sed ad³⁵ efficiens³⁶ et eminens et ad³⁷ finem dependent alia essentialiter; ergo nullae duae naturae possunt esse primo³⁸ terminantia³⁹ alia entia secundum istam triplicem⁴⁰ dependentiam praecise;⁴¹ est⁴² ergo aliqua una natura terminans⁴³ entia⁴⁴ secundum istam triplicem dependentiam, et ita habens istam triplicem primitatem.*

G

Sed contra praedicta sunt aliqua dubia: primum quod dicitur de causa per se et causa per accidens. Si enim¹ intelligat sicut communiter intelligitur quod haec sit vera: “Calidum per se calefacit” et haec non: “Album per se calefacit”; sed quod haec sit vera: “Album per accidens calefacit”—hoc non est verum, quia quandocumque aliquod praedicatum inest illi pro quo subiectum supponit, vel pronomini demonstranti² praecise illud pro quo subiectum supponit³; et tali modo quo denotatur sibi

T. 23. duae species ultimae E. 24. possent E. 25. causae Ob. 26. E transp. post causatum. 27. aliud ET. 28. om. T. 29. fit T. 30. in communi om. T. 31. terminari T. 32. om. T. 33. om. E. 34. quae Ob. 35. sed ad om. T; sed ad om. Ob. cum lacuna. 36. sufficiens T. 37. om. E. 38. om. T. 39. terminantes E. 40. EOb transp. post dependentiam. 41. om. Ob. 42. TOB transp. post ergo. 43. om. Ob. 44. essentiam T.

¹Oxon. I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 19; VIII, 436 b—437 b.

²op. cit., lib. 8, cap. 3 (1043 b 33—1044 a 14); lib. 5, cap. 6, (1016 b 36).

*Hic finit citatio Oxon.

inesse, illa propositio est simpliciter vera. Sed in istis duabus propositionibus: “Album per se calefacit” et “Calidum per se⁴ calefacit”: si idem sit album et calidum,⁵ subiecta⁶ supponunt pro codem. Ergo, si una sit vera, reliqua erit vera.

Si dicatur quod tunc ita esset haec per se: “Album calefacit”, sicut haec est⁷ per se: “Calidum calefacit”, dico quod sive aliqua istarum sit per se sive non, consequentia non valet; quia impossibile⁸ est aliquod praedicatum inesse aliquibus cum nota per seitatis, ita quod utraque illarum propositionum sumatur in sensu divisionis,⁹ vel utraque sit¹⁰ propositio equipollens¹¹ sensui divisions,¹² et tamen quod una propositio praedicans praedicatum de uno¹³ subiecto sit possibilis et alia impossibilis.

Verbi gratia ponatur quod idem homo sit grammaticus et albus. Tunc¹⁴ utraque istarum est vera:¹⁵ “Grammaticum potest esse nigrum,” et similiter¹⁶ “Album potest esse nigrum.” Et tamen haec est¹⁷ possibilis: “Grammaticum est nigrum;” et haec est impossibilis: “Album est nigrum.”¹⁸ Et causa est quia per istam propositionem: “Album potest esse nigrum;” non denotatur¹⁹ nisi quod²⁰ propositio in qua praedicatum praedicatur de illo pro quo modo album supponit,²¹ sit possibilis; et non denotatur quod propositio in qua praedicatur hoc praedicatum de isto subiecto, sit possibilis. Et bene stant simul; quod²² propositio in qua praedicatur²³ praedicatum de subiecto sit impossibilis, et tamen quod propositio in qua²⁴ praedicatur²⁵ idem praedicatum de illo pro quo hoc subiectum supponit vel de pronomine demonstrante illud,²⁶ sit possibilis.

Et ratio est quia subiectum contingenter supponit pro illo²⁷ pro quo supponit;²⁸ quia in ista propositione: “Album potest esse nigrum”: subiectum supponit pro Sorte, si Sortes sit albus. Si autem fiat niger, tunc hoc subiectum non supponit pro Sorte,²⁹

4. album per se . . . / variat E; etiam add. Ob post se. 5. et add. Ma. 6. om. F. 7. om. T. 8. possibile EF. 9. diviso E. 10. E transp. post propositio. 11. aequivalens Ma. 12. diviso E; vel utraque illarum propositionum sumatur in sensu divisionis add. Ob. (Repetitio). 13. om. E. 14. om. Ma. 15. ponatur quod . . . / om. T. 16. om. ET. 17. om. F. 18. Et tamen . . . / om. E. 19. plus add. E. 20. de subiecto vel de pronomine demonstrante illud pro quo subiectum supponit possit praedicari praedicatum. Et hoc nihil aliud est nisi quod / add. E. 21. vel pro illo de pronomine demonstrante illud pro quo subiectum supponit / add. MaOb. 22. Haec add. TOB. 23. E transp. post praedicatum. 24. ponitur

quia hoc subiectum album non supponit³⁰ nisi pro illis quae sunt alba, et praecise dum sunt alba. Et³¹ ita est in propositio; quod si haec sit vera: “Calidum per se calefacit”: haec erit etiam³² vera: “Album per se calefacit”: si idem sit calidum et album.

Et tamen ex hoc non sequitur consequentia formalis³³ quod³⁴ si haec³⁵ sit per se: “Calidum calefacit”, quod haec erit per se: “Album calefacit”. Nec credo aliter istum doctorem sensisse, propter magnam notitiam quam habuit de logica.

H

Et ideo potest dici quod causa per accidens est illud quod agit per aliquid aliud ab eo. Sed¹ tale non est nisi subiectum vel totum habens partem qua agit. Et isto modo potest dici quod ignis per accidens calefacit; et eodem modo quod² calidum per accidens calefacit. Et illo³ modo potest dici quod homo per accidens ratiocinatur et similiter totum per accidens⁴ agit⁵ quando actio sibi⁶ non convenit nisi mediante parte sua. Et ratio istius⁷ est quia illud dicitur per accidens competere⁸ alicui, quo amoto nihil minus potest esse; sed igne destructo et reservato calore, nihilominus poterit sequi calefactio, quia sicut ostendetur in quarto accidens actu⁹ separatum ita potest agere sicut coniunctum.

Eodem modo illa actio quae competit homini mediante anima intellectiva poterit ita elici ab anima separata sicut a coniuncta. Et ideo actio quae¹⁰ primo convenit parti dicitur convenire toti per accidens, quia convenit sibi per aliud. Similiter actio primo competens accidenti dicitur convenire suo subiecto¹¹ per accidens, quia per aliud. Et ita large accipiendo per accidens, secundum quod est illud¹² quod per aliud realiter distinctum, sic potest concedi¹³ tam de subiecto accidentis quam de toto cuius parti primo convenit actio, quod est agens per accidens, et eodem modo quod est causa per accidens.

add. Ma. 25. E transp. post praedicatum. 26. vel de pronomine demonstrante illud / om. FOb. 27. pro illo om. E. 28. vel de pronomine demonstrante illud sit possibile, et ratio est quia subiectum contingenter supponit pro illo pro quo supponit / add. Ob. 29. si Sortes . . . / om. Ob. 30. in propositione mere de inesse (et add. Ma) mere de praesenti / add. EMa. 31. om. Ma. 32. om. Ma. 33. formalis EMa. 34. quia FT. 35. hoc Ob.

H 1. Si Ma. 2. om. Ob. 3. ideo Ma. 4. ratiocinatur . . . / om. Ob. 5. peragit

Sed causa per se est illud quod causat non per aliquid aliud realiter distinctum, sed per se; ita quod ipso posito, omni alio circumscripto quod non est causa in aliquo genere causae, poterit sequi effectus. Et isto modo ipse calor est causa¹⁴ per se caloris; quia ipso posito et omni alio amoto quod non habet¹⁵ rationem causae, poterit sequi calor in passo disposito et approximato. Et ideo calor per se causat calorem, quia non per aliud. Et isto modo ipsa anima intellectiva per se causat intellectionem et volitionem quia non per aliud, nisi secundum quod ly per notat circumstantiam causae partialis concurrentis.

Si dicatur quod Aristoteles dicit secundo Physicorum* quod aedificator per se aedificat et album per accidens aedificat, similiter vult ibidem quod Policleetus est causa statuae per accidens sed statuam faciens est causa¹⁶ per se. Ergo eodem modo, quamvis lignum per accidens calefaciat, tamen calidum per se calefacit.

I

Dico quod intentio philosophi est dicere quod de aliquo praedicatur per se praedicatum aliquod quando¹ oppositum praedicati sibi² non³ potest inesse, et ideo quia haec potest esse vera: “Policleetus non facit statuam”: posita etiam⁴ constantia subiecti, et haec non potest esse vera, posita constantia subiecti: “Statuam faciens non facit statuam”.⁵

Similiter quantum est ex forma propositionis haec potest esse vera posita constantia subiecti: “Ignis non calefacit”, et haec non: “Calefaciens non calefacit”; similiter quia⁶ in aliqua propositione⁷ exprimitur per se⁸ causa rei, et⁹ in alia¹⁰ non. Et¹¹ ideo dicit Philosophus quod causa per se praedicatur de uno et non de alio. Unde per istam: “Calidum calefacit”: expresse signi-

F. 6. Ma transp. post convenit. 7. Huius E. 8. E transp. post alicui. 9. activum MaOb. 10. pro “actio quae”, quia / E. 11. toto F. 12. idem EMa. 13. quod add. Ob. 14. EMa transp. post se. 15. habent F. 16. est causa om. Ob.

*op. cit., lib. 2, cap. 3 (195 a 34-35).

I 1. quamvis Ob. 2. Ma transp. post potest. 3. om. Ob cum lacuna. 4. om. Ma. 5. statuam faciens . . . posita constantia subiecti / sic Ma. 6. om. Ma. 7. semper add. E. 8. per se om. E. 9. etiam T. 10. aliqua ET. 11. om. FMa. 12. et E. 13. F transp. post calefacit. 14. per istam om. E. 15. per se add. E. 16. pro “secundum quod”, quomodo / E. 17. Sequentia usque ad . . . Secundo /

ficatur calor, quae est causa per se quia¹² non per aliud; et non per istam: "Ignis¹³ calefacit", vel per istam:¹⁴ "Siccum calefacit"; et sic de consimilibus. Ideo dicit Philosophus unam esse per se et aliam per accidens; et hoc large accipiendo,¹⁵ non stricte, secundum quod¹⁶ distinguit Philosophus primo Posteriorum** duos modos dicendi per se.

Nunc¹⁷ autem ita est quod ista stant simul:¹⁸ "Album per se calefacit", et haec est per accidens: "Album calefacit"; sicut ista stant simul:¹⁹ "Album potest esse nigrum", et haec est impossibilis: "Album est nigrum". Et ideo vult Philosophus, quod haec est per se: "Statuam faciens est causa statuae", et haec est²⁰ per accidens: "Policletus est causa statuae"; et tamen²¹ cum hoc stat quod utraque illarum sit vera: "Statuam faciens per se est causa statuae", et "Policletus per se est causa statuae",²² accipiendo uno modo²³ per se et alio modo accipiendo²⁴ per se et²⁵ per accidens. Cum praedictis stant istae duae: "Statuam faciens per accidens est causa statuae", et "Policletus per accidens est causa statuae", et tamen quod una illarum de inesse sit per se et alia per accidens.

K

Secundo, non est bene dictum de differentia¹ inter causas essentialiter² et accidentaliter ordinatas.

Prima differentia non est bene data, quia quaero: Quid³ est⁴ causam secundam dependere a prima in causando? Aut hoc est requirere causam primam ad hoc quod causet, quia sine ea causare non potest; aut quia in suo esse dependet a prima; vel quia⁵ recipit virtutem activam vel aliquam influentiam a prima.

om. F. 18. similiter *E.* 19. similiter *E.* 20. *om. ET.* 21. *om. E.* 22. et "Policletus . . ." / *om. MaOb.* 23. uno modo *om. Ob.* 24. alio modo accipiendo *om. Ob.* 25. per se et *om. EOOb.*

**op. cit., lib. 1, cap. 4 (73 a 21-73 b 15).

K 1. differentiis *E.* 2. ordinatas add. *E.* 3. quae *FT.* 4. per se add. *Ma.* 5. requirit add. *Ma.* 6. *om. F.* 7. *om. E.* 8. *E transp. post multis.* 9. et add. *Ob.* 10. *om. E.* 11. *Ma transp. post suos.* 12. non *F.* 13. Tum add. *E.* 14. est *E.* 15. erit *E;* causa add. *E.* 16. *om. Ma.* 17. *om. E.* 18. et in add. *F.* et *om.* in esse et. 19. in add. *MaOb.* 20. *E transp. post effectus.* 21. non *F.* 22. sit add. *E.* 23. patet *E.* 24. *E transp. post absolutam.* 25. localem nec formam aliquam absolutam/ add. *Ma et delet.* 26. *om. E.* 27. et tamen . . . / *om. T.* 28.

Sic enim arguit⁶ iste doctor contra unum alium doctorem,⁷ ostendens quod intelligentia secunda, si movet sicut secundum movens, causatur a prima intelligentia. Primum non potest dari; quia sicut⁸ in multis causa secunda non potest causare sine prima,⁹ ita nec e converso. Ergo tunc¹⁰ non plus isto modo dependet causa secunda a prima in causando quam e converso. Assumptum patet; quia sicut in istis inferioribus multa agentia particularia non possunt causare effectus¹¹ suos sine sole, ita sol non potest in multos effectus sine causis secundis.

Nec¹² potest dari secundum;¹³ quia ita contingit in causis accidentaliter ordinatis tum quia tunc universaliter quicquid esset¹⁴ causa causae esset¹⁵ per¹⁶ se et essentialis causa¹⁷ causati—quod negat iste doctor et bene. Cuius ratio est quia aliquando causa dependet¹⁸ in esse et¹⁹ conservari ab aliquo alio, sine quo tamen si causa conservaretur a Deo sine eo, nihilominus posset esse²⁰ effectus. Et ipso posito et alio amoto, non posset esse effectus. Ergo illud non habet rationem causae respectu illius effectus.

Nec²¹ potest dari tertium; quia talis influentia vel motio non posset esse nisi²² vel motus localis vel ad aliquam formam substantialem vel accidentalem. Sed manifestum est²³ quod frequenter causa secunda in agendo, nec motum localem nec formam aliquam²⁴ absolutam recipit a prima.

Praeterea secundum istum²⁵ doctorem alibi obiectum et intellectus sunt duae causae partiales respectu intellectionis, et tamen secundum eundem neutra causa²⁶ dependet ab alia in causando sed²⁷ utraque agit virtute propria.²⁸ Tunc quaero: Aut istae causae²⁹ sunt essentialiter ordinatae, aut accidentaliter. Si essentialiter, habeo propositum quod non semper³⁰ secunda dependet a prima in causando, quia utraque virtute propria³¹ causat. Si sint³² accidentaliter ordinatae, ergo una posset agere sine alia—quod³³ negat et est manifeste falsum. Confirmatur quia secundum eum alibi* intellectus respectu intellectionis³⁴ est causa principalis et universalis et illimitata, et tamen obiectum in causando non dependet ab eo.

virtute propria om. Ob. 29. E transp. post sunt. 30. causa add. Ma. 31. propria om. Ma. 32. Ma sic correxit pro sunt. 33. non posset agere sine alia quod / add. Ma. 34. intentionis FT.

*Oxon. I, d. 3, q. 8, n. 2; IX, 399.

L

Contra secundam differentiam: Quando accipit quod causae essentialiter ordinatae sunt alterius rationis et alterius ordinis quia causa¹ superior est perfectior, aut accipitur superioritas pro prioritate secundum perfectionem aut pro prioritate secundum illimitationem. Si primo modo hoc esset² petere³ quod causae sint⁴ alterius ordinis, quia perfectior est perfectior. Ergo oportet quod accipiat secundo modo et dicat quod omnis causa illimitatior est perfectior causa magis limitata. Sed hoc est simpliciter falsum, quia aliquando causa illimitatior est simpliciter imperfectior et aliquando perfectior.⁵

Exemplum primi secundum istum doctorem: Corpus celeste quia non⁶ vivum⁷ est imperfectius animali perfecto vivo, et tamen cum asino vel⁸ cum⁹ alio animali concurrit sicut causa illimitatior ad producendum aliud animal. Ergo ibi¹⁰ causa illimitatior¹¹ est imperfectior. Similiter, si intellectus humanus intelligat essentiam angeli, causa illimitatior illius intellectionis est intellectus humanus et causa limitatior est essentia angeli. Et tamen intellectus humanus¹² est imperfectior essentia angeli. Similiter calor cum anima vegetativa concurrit sicut causa illimitatior ad aliquem effectum producendum, sicut post ostendetur, et tamen calor est imperfectior. Exemplum secundi: Caelum sicut causa illimitatior concurrit cum elementis ad alios¹³ effectus producendos. Et voluntas sicut causa illimitatior concurrit cum sensibilibus vel cum intelligibilibus ad producendum volitiones. Et voluntas est causa perfectior, et similiter caelum est perfectius elementis.

M

Contra tertiam differentiam: Si intelligat quod numquam in causis essentialiter¹ ordinatis potest una agere sine alia, hoc non videtur verum; tum quia secundum eum et secundum veritatem aliqua animalia generata per propagationem, ubi concurrunt

L 1. *om. E.* 2. est *EOb.* 3. principium *add. E.* 4. essent *E;* sunt *Ob.* 5. et aliquando . . . / *om. Ma.* 6. est *add. EMA.* 7. unum *F.* 8. et *E.* 9. *om. ET.* 10. in *F.* 11. ad producendum . . . / *om. Ma.* 12. et causa . . . / *om. Ob.* 13. aliquos *EMA.*

M 1. *om. Ma.* 2. sed *Ma.* 3. praecedens *MaOb.* 4. qua *add. FT.* 5. *om. Ma.* 6. dicitur *ET.*

corpus caeleste et agens particulare, possunt produci per putrefactionem ubi² agens producens³ particulare non concurrit; ergo ibi agit causa universalis sine⁴ particulari—et si dicatur quod tunc⁵ causa particularis superflueret, dico quod non, sed causa quare non superfluit dicetur⁶ in secundo libro—tum quia secundum istum doctorem alibi idem filius potuit habuisse diversos patres, ergo multo fortius diversas causas equivocas, ita quod sine una illarum posset produci.

N

Contra dicta in secundo articulo:^{*}

Quamvis conclusio sit concedenda et tres ultimae rationes sint probabiles,¹ tamen prima ratio simpliciter non valet; quia prima ratio² fundatur in ista propositione: “Quandocumque aliqua convenientiunt³ et differunt, per aliud convenientiunt et per aliud differunt, et per consequens utrumque illorum⁴ includit rationem communem in qua convenientiunt et propriam per quam distinguuntur.” Et ista propositio ostensa est simpliciter⁵ falsa, quia duo individua simplicia se ipsis sine omni distinctione convenientiunt et differunt.

Praeterea sicut isti duo dii convenienter in necesse esse et different suis propriis rationibus, eodem modo quo hoc conceditur concedendum est quod Deus et creatura convenientiunt in entitate⁶ et differunt suis propriis rationibus realiter. Et per consequens si ista ratio sit bona, Deus includeret duas rationes, et quaero sicut ipse quaerit: Aut utraque illarum est ratio formaliter necessario essendi, aut non; et procedo⁷ sicut ipse procedit.

Praeterea si oportet talia includere duo, aut necesse est quod illa sunt distincta realiter aut formaliter, aut⁸ tantum⁹ secundum rationem. Non primo modo:¹⁰ quia ipse dicit quod natura contracta per differentiam realem non distinguitur realiter a differentia contrahente; si secundo modo, hoc modo de facto reperitur in Deo quod sunt ibi aliqua distincta formaliter tantum.¹¹ Et tunc quaero et arguo sicut ipse:¹² Aut utraque illarum est ratio necessario¹³ essendi, aut non.

*Oxon. I, d. 2, q. 2, n. 19; VIII, 436b-437b.

N 1. et add. Ma. 2. prima ratio *om. E.* 3. alia quando *F.* 4. *om. E.* 5. esse

Ad istud respondetur quod quando aliquid dividitur, tunc¹⁴ ex se non habet ultimam actualitatem essendi sed expectat aliquam actualitatem essendi¹⁵ ab illis per¹⁶ quae dividitur. Et ideo si essent plura necesse esse, tunc necesse esse¹⁷ divideretur per rationes proprias illis necesse esse; et ita esset in potentia, et non haberet ex se ultimam actualitatem essendi. Non¹⁸ sic autem est in divinis, quia essentia non dividitur nec est¹⁹ in potentia ad istas²⁰ rationes proprias personis. Et ideo²¹ essentia ex se habet ultimam actualitatem necessario essendi; quia illae rationes propriae non sunt formaliter rationes necessario essendi.

Contra hoc²² dupliciter: Primo quia, sicut probatum est prius,²³ aliquid potest esse commune ad multa quod non dividitur in illis.²⁴ Imo²⁵ universaliter nullum commune dividitur in illis²⁶ quibus est commune, quia nec est in illis. Sed ipsum manens unum nihil penitus recipiens nec aliquo sibi addito dividitur in illa²⁷ quibus est commune proportionaliter voci quae dividitur in sua significata; quae²⁸ tamen vox non est in suis significatis divisa. Nec aliquid sibi advenit per²⁹ hoc quod dividitur; et ita quantumcumque essent plura necesse esse, non oporteret quod utrumque³⁰ illorum includeret aliqua distincta sive realiter sive formaliter.

Praeterea, sicut argutum est prius,³¹ non est maior ratio quod ista formaliter distincta componant quam illa. Et ideo vel omnia distincta formaliter constituentia per se unum componunt vel nulla, sicut omnes res facientes per se unum componunt essenti-aliter vel nullae. Ergo eadem ratione omnia distincta formaliter quorum unum est aliquo modo prius alio³² sic³³ se habent quod unum illorum est³⁴ in potentia ad reliquum vel nullum. Ergo si essent plura necesse esse,³⁵ utrumque illorum³⁶ includeret rationes distinctas quarum una esset³⁷ in potentia ad aliam distinctam tantum formaliter. Eadem ratione cum de facto in Deo³⁸ ponamus essentiam et relationem distingui formaliter, et essentia

FTMa; om. Ob. 6. ente Ma. 7. procedendo FT. 8. formaliter, aut om. Ma. 9. tamen E. 10. Non . . . / om. Ob. 11. Unde add. E. 12. arguit add. E. 13. F transp. post essendi. 14. om. Ob. 15. aliquam . . . / om. E et add. eam; om. Ma. 16. in E. 17. tunc . . . / om. Ma. 18. nec Ob. 19. om. Ma. 20. alias E. 21. ita E. 22. arguitur add. E. 23. sicut . . . / om. E. 24. illo E. 25. primo Ma. 26. illo E. 27. illis Ma. 28. quia F. 29. propter E. 30. unum E.

est³⁹ aliqua prioritate prior relatione, sequitur quod essentia sit in potentia ad relationem.

Si⁴⁰ dicatur quod non est simile, quia essentia et relatio sunt una necessitas essendi per identitatem,—non sic autem esset ex alia parte—hoc non valet; quia illae rationes in uno illorum necesse esse tantum distinguuntur formaliter, qua ratione natura specifica⁴¹ et differentia individualis in creaturis distinguuntur tantum formaliter, et qua ratione aliquando natura generis et differentia specifica distinguuntur tantum⁴² formaliter; sed⁴³ illa quae distinguuntur tantum formaliter sunt una entitas realiter, et per consequens, si illa entitas sit quaedam necessitas, illa distincta formaliter erunt⁴⁴ necessitas essendi per identitatem.

Si dicatur quod non est ibi talis compositio nec potentialitas in Deo propter infinitatem et ideo ubi non est infinitas distincta formaliter componunt et includunt potentialitatem, hoc non valet; tum quia si essent duae res formaliter infinitae constituentes per se unam rem, non obstante infinitate componerent—ergo eodem modo si sint aliqua distincta formaliter, non obstante infinitate component si constituant⁴⁵ per se unum, qua ratione alia distincta formaliter componunt;—tum quia hoc posito ita⁴⁶ diceretur quod utrumque illorum necesse esse esset infinitum sicut modo ponitur unicum necesse esse esse infinitum. Ergo tunc infinitas⁴⁷ impediret compositionem et potentialitatem sicut modo de facto secundum istam responsonem.

Praeterea quamvis secunda responsio⁴⁸ non accipiat ita manifeste falsum sicut ista, tamen oporteret probare quod omnes formae se habent sicut numeri, ita scilicet quod semper una esset⁴⁹ perfectior et alia imperfectior—quod non est⁵⁰ sufficienter probatum.⁵¹

31. sicut . . . / om. E. 32. om. Ob. 33. sicut Ma. 34. om. Ma. 35. om. E. 36. om. E. 37. est Ma. 38. in Deo om. Ma. 39. om. Ob. 40. *Sequentia usque ad . . . Praeterea quamvis / om. E.* 41. erit add. Ma. 42. om. Ma. 43. ex add. Ob. 44. una add. Ob. 45. componerent vel constituerint Ma. 46. Om. Ob. 47. non add. Ob. 48. Contra secundam rationem quamvis / E. 49. est Ma. 50. om. E. 51. probatur E. 52. *Sequentia usque ad . . . Tamen una om. E.* 53. aliquo FT. 54. faciat Ma. 55. possit Ma. 56. eos F. 57. non est . . . / om. Ema.

**De Primo*, cap. 3, concl. 15-19.

Aliae⁵² duae rationes et similiter aliquae aliae quas in alio⁵³ loco* facit⁵⁴ ad probandum unitatem Dei sunt probabiles quamvis posset⁵⁵ aliquis contra eas⁵⁶ protervire, quas protervias difficile esset improbare. Tamen una propositio quae accipitur in istis duabus rationibus, scilicet, quod nulla duo possunt esse totaliter terminantia dependentiam alicuius unius, non est universaliter vera, sicut alias ostendetur et ideo transeo modo.⁵⁷

EVAN ROCHE, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*



THE CRITICAL VALUE OF QUOTATIONS OF SCOTUS' WORKS FOUND IN OCKHAM'S WRITINGS

Comment to: *La valeur critique des citations des œuvres de Jean Duns Scot*, by Charles Balic, O.F.M., in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*, Louvain 1941, pp. 531-556.

FATHER BALIC, the well-known prefect of the Scotus Commission in Rome, has devoted a special study to the problem of the critical value of quotations of works of Scotus encountered in the writings of other scholastics. The discussion centers mainly on three questions: (1) whether such quotations can serve as a secure basis in order to establish the original text of Scotus, (2) whether they help to fix the date of certain writings of Scotus, (3) whether they may be of assistance in solving the problem of the authenticity of certain works attributed to Scotus. Father Balic has confined his study exclusively to those scholastics who seem to be more significative in this regard. They are: Hervaeus Natalis, Thomas of Sutton, Robert of Cowitzon, William of Nottingham, John of Reading, William Ockham¹, William of Alnwick and John Rodington. His main interest is focussed on Scotus' *Ordinatio* and the various *Reportationes* of the Doctor Subtilis, the other writings of Scotus being treated only incidentally.

The general conclusion as regards the first problem is stated as follows:

Les citations de l'*Ordinatio de Duns Scot* ne nous aident donc point à en connaître et à en fixer le texte original: exception faite cependant pour certaines affirmations où on dit, par exemple, qu'il a changé d'opinion, qu'il a changé tel ou tel mot . . . (p. 553).

We understand the author to mean by this that quotations are of no help whatsoever in re-establishing the original text, unless they indicate changes made by Scotus himself.

1. We prefer to call Ockham "William Ockham" and not "William of Ockham", since many of the oldest manuscripts do so, as likewise Pope John XXII in official documents.

Concerning the second and third problem, the author is more optimistic. He summarizes his position in the following statement:

Cependant, si les citations ne peuvent en général nous guider dans l'établissement du texte original, elles peuvent être très précieuses pour le critique ayant en vue l'authenticité des textes scolastiques, leur autorité, leur succession chronologique, etc. (p. 555).

The author points especially to Scotus' *Reportatio examinata*, the *Lectura* of Oxford, *De Primo Rerum Principio*, *De Theorematibus*, *Additiones Magnae*, to show the importance of such quotations. Since all of them are attributed to *Joannes Scotus*, already by authors of the first half of the 14th century, their authenticity is thus confirmed and hence they will find a place in the critical edition now being prepared.

In this connection it will be of special interest to our readers to learn that Balic places the authenticity of *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematibus* on the same level as the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales. That means the two works are authentic in this sense, that Scotus had the will to produce these works; that he has had the idea of them and has conceived their plan and indicated the material to be used (qui a volu l'oeuvre, en a eu l'idée, en a concu le plan et indiqué la matière p. 556). For the rest, it is immaterial whether the style is different and the whole execution of the work not completely in line with the manner of the "author" himself. If this be so, then we may legitimately ask whether Balic wishes to admit that such a work of an "author" may even contradict his certainly and absolutely genuine works. Since he cites the case of the *Summa Halensis*, it appears he is willing to go even this far. For he also gives the prudent advice which we ourselves wish to emphasize:

Tâchons de ne pas confondre *Ordinatio* et *Reportations*, de distinguer dans un texte écrit la part vraiment sienne de celle qui revient aux collaborateurs et fut rédigée par eux sous sa direction ou selon son programme (p. 556).

We gather from this: A student of Scotus who uses the "less

"authentic" works as *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematibus* will not be safe from criticism, if he cannot substantiate his findings in these writings with the "authentically authentic" works of Scotus. This is tantamount practically excluding *De Primo Rerum Principio* and *De Theorematibus* from serious studies on Scotus' doctrine, at least in the sense, that they cannot be used as primary sources. Or to put it in another way, the debate about the authenticity of these works as such is futile; the only fit subject of dispute would be the meaning of the particular doctrines expounded in these works.

Ockham is awarded special consideration by Balic, because he claims to quote Scotus literally (p. 540). We shall confine the remainder of our comments to Fr. Balic's treatment of Ockham.

Several times we have pointed at the importance of the *Venerabilis Inceptor* as a secondary source of clarifying the original text of Scotus. Unfortunately, it seems that the war conditions prevented the author from reading our publications, though one was published in Europe in 1940. Had Fr. Balic known of them, we are sure he would have been more cautious in his criticism, particularly since we had already published a critical revision of the very text Fr. Balic quotes as an instance of Ockham's inaccurate citation of Scotus.

Ockham does not always pretend to quote faithfully according to modern standards, that is, literally. Yet, we have found, that he is usually quite faithful and makes little or no changes. Of course, he leaves out texts which are not to the point, and adds words to link up texts. But, there is one instance where Ockham has not only quoted Scotus, as he usually does, but states expressly that he will quote him literally, or, as he puts it, *de verbo ad verbum*. It was this lengthy quotation (in our edition, Schöningh, Paderborn, 1940, p. 32-34), which we used to evaluate the various manuscripts of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham by confronting it with the better manuscripts of the *Ordinatio* of Scotus. It so happened, that Balic has made the same comparison of a certain common text of Scotus established on the

basis of a few good manuscripts (we both used the Scotus mss. of Erfurt, Assisi, and Worcester; in addition we each used a few different ones). Whilst Balic compared the common text of Scotus with the Incunabula edition of Ockham and *one* manuscript of Ockham (Vatic. Ottoboni 2088), we compared the common text of Scotus with 12 mss. of Ockham's *Ordinatio*. To anyone acquainted with the manuscript tradition of scholastic works, this will explain the difference in our results. The meager result of Balic's comparison is this: If we place the common text of Scotus alongside the text of the Incunabula edition of Ockham, more than thirty variants appear. (We had made the same discovery.) If we compare it with the Ockham ms. of the Vatican Library, the "number of divergences is sensibly diminished" (p. 450). Our result was, of course, more graded. We found that there is one group of Ockham manuscripts, and to it belongs the Vatican ms., which shows about twenty variants. Another group, which shows a somewhat intermediary position, has about ten variants. A third group, which represents the best texts, has at most *five variants of any importance*. Now, to show not more than five variants in such a long text is not a bad recommendation at all for Ockham's faithfulness in quoting Scotus *de verbo ad verbum*. It remains true, of course, that Ockham quoted that manuscript of Scotus' *Ordinatio*, which was available at Oxford. But we dare say that it was not too bad a one, for it must have been a manuscript of the very early 14th century, and certainly was written before 1315. To substantiate our statements, we shall edit at the end of this article Ockham's text as it will appear in the critical edition at present in preparation. To this we shall add the variants of the Assisi ms., which is the only one at our present disposal, as our former notes are lost.

By these remarks we do not, of course, intend to imply that a large number of critically established texts of Scotus may be gleaned from a critical edition of Ockham's *Ordinatio*. Balic rightly defends the need of basing a critical edition on the *Fides Codicum*. However, we know from our own experience that sometimes very important texts cannot be re-established merely

on the basis of the manuscripts. The editor who slavishly follows manuscripts alone is trusting a purely mechanical device, and will invariably perpetuate mistakes. If, for instance, an equal number of good manuscripts yield different, or even contradictory texts, we must have recourse to criteria other than the manuscripts themselves contain. Among such criteria are literal quotations by later writers, especially, if they lived close to the time of the author. For there is a great chance, or at least a better chance, that such writers understood the original thought of the text quoted better than we do. We mention this, not because we believe that the editors of Duns Scotus are not aware of it, but because we are under the impression that their emphasis on the *Fides Codicum* could be misunderstood. The manuscripts of the *Fides Codicum* must have the first word, but not always the last word. Otherwise, we would have to go so far as to re-establish the original text of the author with all its *lapsus calami* and *lapsus linguae*, or even of the errors caused by the scribe's failure to catch the dictation of the author. We have noticed such *lapsus linguae* or *calami* in the *Ordinatio* of Ockham. More than once certain manuscripts will add the remark: *Littera habet sic*, and then follows an erroneously written word, which was previously corrected. To illustrate: In speaking of the *demonstratio propter quid*, Ockham had at one place in his original copy, the words "secundum quid". Some manuscripts have here: *Secundum quid*, which is wrong, others have: *propter quid*, which is obviously right, but was not in Ockham's own copy. A third group has: *propter quid*, but adds either in the text or on the margin: *littera habet: secundum quid*. Should we put this error "*secundum quid*" in the final critical edition? I think common sense and charity would not allow it. Such a change, however, should be noted in a footnote.

Again, we do not think that the editors of the Scotus-works think differently. But in order to fret out some of these errors, quotations can be of considerable help.

This leads us to consider another reason by Balic against the faithfulness of the quotations found in Ockham. According to

Balic, an early Scotist, John of Rodington, has blamed Ockham for being inexact in his quotation of Scotus². Admitting that John's remark carries some weight, we must take this testimony *cum grano salis*. In order to evaluate it properly, we went through the tedious work of checking everything that we possibly could. Refuting an allegation from Scotus made by Ockham, John states:

Ad illud—sic ait—‘in substantiis non est abstractio nisi a suppositis propriae naturae’, dico quod libri correcti habent sic: ‘in substantiis non est communiter abstractio, etc.’

Unfortunately, Balic has given references neither to Scotus nor to Ockham. We finally succeeded in locating the texts in Scotus and Ockham, and are convinced that John of Rodington refers to this passage in Ockham:

Praeterea, quod dicit (viz. Scotus) quod in substantiis non est abstractio nisi a suppositis propriae naturae. . . . (Ordinatio, d. 5, q. 1, G).

However, this is not the text, where Ockham quotes Scotus in the strict sense, since Ockham merely summarizes here the literal quotation of Scotus which he has cited at the outset of his discussion. In D (of the Lyons edition) on the same question we read the fuller quotation:

Maior declaratur: In substantiis est tantum una abstractio, scilicet quidditatis a supposito propriae naturae, quia substantiae non sunt natae concernere aliquid alterius naturae. . . .

The Codex Assisiensis of the Oxoniense of Scotus reads here as follows:

Huius syllogismi maiorem declaro sic: In substantiis (here follows a long passage, with the sign on the margin: Sco. extra, and which corresponds to the *additio* in the Garcia-edition, p. 506) tantum est abstractio a supposito propriae naturae communiter, quia non sunt natae concernere aliquid aliterius naturae . . .

2. Cfr. p. 540, and *De critica textuali Scholasticorum scriptis accomodata*, in *Antonianum* 20 (1945) 277.

Now, the first redaction of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham, preserved in the ms. Firenze Bibl. Naz. A. 3. 801, reads as follows:

Maior declaratur; In substantiis est tantum una abstractio,
scilicet communiter, a supposito propriae natura, quia . . .
etc. as in the edition.

It is true, the "communiter" in the Firenze ms. is written so that with some good will "quidditatis" can be read also, and that may explain, why the other manuscripts of Ockham have the reading "quidditatis". However, it is also possible that because of the close resemblance of the "q" and "con" and the endings "tis" and "ter" there may be a confusion already in the manuscripts of Scotus. In any case, the addition which according to John of Rodington was in the "corrected" text of Scotus, is or has its equivalent in the text of Ockham.

Let us now draw the conclusion from this discussion: John of Rodington did not quote Ockham correctly, *sicut patet intuenti*. Instead of quoting Ockham's quotation of Scotus, he quotes a short reference to that quotation. Furthermore, we can maintain with a high degree of probability that Ockham quoted the "corrected" text of Scotus, which John seems to deny, and that Ockham understood it even as an addition, as the expression "scilicet" indicates. Therefore, the criticism of John of Rodington, if he really intended his remark as a criticism, which we doubt, loses its weight. And consequently, Balic's argument likewise. As Balic rightly emphasizes, however, it remains correct to say that Ockham's quotations are only a witness of the manuscript which he used.

We have found it necessary to eliminate the unwarranted suspicion cast by Balic on the trustworthiness of Ockham's citations of Scotus, not merely because we regard it as unfounded, but principally to justify our publication of some of these quotations in recent issues of the *Franciscan Studies*. For we had previously asserted that Ockham is in the main very reliable when he quotes Scotus, and we feel it our duty to substantiate our contention in view of the statements of Father Balic to the contrary. Not that we would dream of maintaining that the

texts we have so far published should be considered as critically established texts of Scotus. But we do insist that these quotations of Ockham represents a very early text tradition.

In view of Father Balic's critical remarks which first appeared in the *Antoniamum*, we were hesitant about continuing our publication of such quotations. Now that he has revealed the reasons for his misgivings, we see that they are not valid and are convinced all the more of the usefulness of publishing Ockham's citations of Scotus.

In this connection we add the text referred to previously where Ockham claims to quote Scotus literally. Our text is established critically on the basis of all the manuscripts (16) of the *Ordinatio* of Ockham that are known to us. It is the text of the critical edition being prepared at the Franciscan Institute, with the cooperation of various scholars, especially of Dom Bascour, O.S.B., the first volume of which we hope will soon appear in print. In order that the reader may be able to compare this text with the text of Scotus, we shall add the variants of the Assisi manuscript of Scotus' *Ordinatio*, omitting only the very unimportant ones, such as transpositions, or *iste* for *ille*, *ergo* for *igitur*, or *vice versa*.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

OCKHAM, ORDINATIO Q. 1 PROLOGI, KK-LL

Ne autem ista opinio quantum ad notitiam intuitivam sensibilium et aliquorum mere intelligibilium tamquam nova contemnatur, adduco verba Doctoris Subtilis libro quarto, distinctione 45^a, quaestione 3^a duas praedictas conclusiones expresse ponentis, videlicet quod intellectus noster intuitive cognoscit sensibilia et quod intuitive cognoscit aliqua mere intelligibilia. Unde concedens quod pars intellectiva habet actum recordandi proprie-

dictum, et per consequens quod intuitive cognoscit actum cuius postea recordatur tamquam obiecti proximi, dicit sic de verbo ad verbum.

“Dico igitur ad istum articulum, quod in intellectiva est memoria et actus recordandi proprie dictus. Supposito enim quod intellectus non tantum cognoscat universalia, quod quidem verum est de intellectione abstractiva, de qua loquitur Philosophus, quia sola illa est scientifica, sed etiam intuitive cognoscit illa quac sensus cognoscit, quia perfectior et superior cognoscitiva in eodem cognoscit illud quod inferior, et etiam quod cognoscat sensationes—et utrumque probatur per hoc quod cognoscit propositiones contingenter veras et ex eis syllogizat; formare autem¹ propositiones et syllogizare proprium est intellectui; illarum autem veritas est de obiectis ut intuitive cognitis, sub ratione scilicet existentiae suae², sub qua cognoscuntur a sensu—sequitur quod in intellectu possunt inveniri omnes conditiones prius dictae pertinentes ad recordari. Potest enim percipere tempus et habere actum post tempus et sic de caeteris. Et potest breviter recordari cuiuscumque obiecti, cuius potest ipsa³ memoria sensitiva recordari, quia potest illum actum qui est proximum obiectum intuitive cognoscere quando est et ita recordari postquam fuit. Potest etiam recordari multorum proximorum obiectorum, quorum non potest sensitiva recordari, utpote⁴ intellectonis praeteritae et volitionis. Quod enim talium recordetur homo, probatur: quia alias non posset poenitere de malis volitionibus nec etiam praeteritam intellectuonem ut praeteritam conferre ad futuram, nec per consequens ex eo quod ista speculatus est ordinare se ad speculandum alia sequentia ex istis. Et breviter destruimus⁵ multipliciter⁶, si intellectuum et volitionum non recordamur. Illarum autem non potest aliquis sensus recordari, quia non cadunt sub obiecto alicuius sensus. Ergo ista recordatio

1. *om. A.*

2. *om. A.*

3. *om. A.*

4. *omnis add. A.*

5. *destruuntur A.*

6. *om. A.*

est propria intellectui et hoc ratione obiecti proximi. Est et⁷ alia propria non solum ratione obiecti proximi sed remoti, ut est⁸ recordatio quae tendit in necessarium ut necessarium ut in obiectum remotum, cuiusmodi est recordatio habens pro obiecto remoto triangulum habere tres. Nam obiectum proximum recordationis, scilicet actus tendens in tale obiectum non potest esse nisi actus partis intellectivae. Sic igitur patet, quod aliqua recordatio est propria intellectui ex ratione utriusque obiecti⁹, scilicet tam proximi quam remoti. Aliqua etiam in ratione obiecti proximi est ita propria quod non posset competere sensui. Aliqua autem¹⁰ ex ratione obiecti proximi competit intellectui, tamen potest competere sensui, utpote si intellectus intuitive intellexit me videre album, et postea intellectus intelligit vel recordatur me vidisse album. Hic quidem¹¹ obiectum proximum et remotum posset esse obiectum recordationis intellectivae et est, quandocumque collatio fit ex tali recordatione per discursum ad aliud syllogistice concludendum. Alicuius tamen sensitivae, utpote supremae, sensatio praeterita non potest esse obiectum proximum nisi tantum recordationis intellectivae, ut tactum est in articulo praecedenti. Nulla tamen recordatio pertinet ad intellectum in quantum praecise abstractive intelligens.

7. etiam A.

8. ut est/utpote A.

9. actus add. A.

10. om. A.

11. et add. A.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE *FASCICULUS MORUM*

WHEN FRIAR SINTRAM was studying at Oxford in 1412, he copied four treatises to carry back to Germany with him; three of these by well-known men, Hugo of St. Victor, Aegidius of Rome and the Seraphic Doctor, are accessible in print. The fourth, known as the *Fasciculus Morum*, compiled by an unknown Franciscan of the custody of Worcester, has not yet been printed. Under the seven capital sins and their opposing virtues, he organized preaching material with exempla and narratives and occasional English verses, and he appended to the main treatise forty-two sermon outlines running from Advent to Trinity.

Dr. Little described the treatise in *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917, pp. 139-157). He showed that while it was probably written in Edward II's reign, all the early manuscripts have disappeared: of the twenty-four manuscripts, only one was written in the fourteenth century. But a study of them makes clear that what was intended for friars had in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries become generally known and used by secular clergy as well: more than half the manuscripts were owned by secular chaplains or monastic houses, or show by the omission of the few specific references to St. Francis that they were copied outside the Friars Minor. Of the six other manuscripts containing extracts, all but one are clearly non-Franciscan; and the same holds true for the ownership of nine lost manuscripts. This extended use of the treatise is also indicated by three revisions current in the fifteenth century: a condensation omitting all the English verses and many

1. For Friar Sintram see the references in Father Lenhart's note in *Franciscan Studies* VI (1946), 469-70.

of the exempla; an expansion adding passages from the *Legenda Aurea* and elsewhere; and a third version retaining both the English and the exempla, but smoothing the difficulties of the text by rewriting many passages.

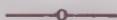
Because of these revisions and also the evidence of contamination among the manuscripts, it has seemed wise in preparing a text for publication not to attempt a reconstruction of what was written in Edward II's reign, but rather to present the text that Sintram found at Oxford in the early fifteenth century. A comparison of Bodley MS Rawlinson C 670 (which contains all but one of the English passages), with Sintram's manuscript (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York), and the Benedictine John Laverne's later manuscript (which he may have obtained while he was a student at Oxford and which he eventually gave to his own convent at Worcester Cathedral), produces a text not entirely free from errors, but readable, and not over-encumbered with variant readings.

An analysis of the relationship between the *Fasciculus* and other preaching and thinking of the time is not possible till the complete text is made available. It is, however, obvious that the friar-compiler concentrated his attention on the simple people who needed the word of God. The rich store of his illustrative material includes the wisdom of the pagan philosophers, which John of Wales, his older contemporary, had compiled in the *Breviloquium*; the pious tales and anecdotes familiar already in such collections as Jacques de Vitry's and the *Speculum Laicorum*; the science of the time, when it could be translated into simplest terms (as when the astronomers observed an eclipse of the sun by means of a mirror in a basin of water); and ever and again the manners of everyday life, a tinker preferring the battered old pots that he could mend, a blacksmith leaving a hot piece of iron in the road, children constructing toy mills and raiding the orchard for apples, the wife concealing blows inflicted by her husband, the nurse caring for her awakened child. But after the variety of narrations and exempla, his point is always

driven home by a concluding text from the Bible. In short, the treatise is interesting to the student of religion as an effort to adapt the teaching of the Church for presentation to humble people; to the student of social history it throws abundant light on mediaeval life and customs; and to the humane reader it glows with the warmth of a true son of St. Francis, intent on leading erring men out of the ways of sin and into the paths of virtue.

FRANCES A. FOSTER

*Vassar College,
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*



BOOK REVIEWS

Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. By Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D. (*Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Bibliographical Series, Vol. 1.*) Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1947. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth bound, \$5.00. Paper bound, \$3.50.

If there is one field of endeavor where it can truthfully be said the Franciscan Order has always particularly excelled, it is that of missionary work. And one of the most successful and widespread Franciscan mission fields was that of Spanish America, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. But when it comes to a detailed and coherent historical record of those glorious missionaries, modern Friars are forced to admit the truth of those sad words of Fr. Heribert Holzapfel, one of the Order's chief modern historians, who says: "The Franciscan Order, though surpassed by none in missionary labors, has been surpassed by almost all other Orders in writing the history of those labors".

It was to help wipe away that indictment that the Academy of American Franciscan History was founded in 1944. This Academy, formed of Friar members of all the American Franciscan provinces, has for one of its purposes "the discovery, editing and publishing of documents, bibliographies and original historical works pertaining to the history of the Franciscan Order in the Americas". This is indeed a worthy and long-delayed purpose, but a difficult, time-consuming one. For instance, the volume under review, published by the Academy, was the work of many years and many hands. Fr. Francisco Palou scrutinized and marked many of the documents listed, as did Fr. Estevan Tapis, Fr. José Señán, Fr. Joseph O'Keefe, Fr. Theodore Arentz and Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt. Fr. Maynard Geiger, the author and editor of the *Calendar*, who is Archivist of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, and an Academy member, states in the introduction that he himself devoted seven years to examining and arranging the documents and writing the explanatory texts for each one. It was a labor of love, I am sure, but it was nonetheless a difficult task, for which Father Geiger deserves much credit. That is why the Academy is proud to present this, the first volume of its *Bibliographical Series*.

Fr. Maynard has divided the documents, transcripts and photostats of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives into six sections and lists them

chronologically according to this division, with appropriate explanations for each item.

Section One lists the documents (404 of them) of the "Junipero Serra Collection, 1713 to the Present Time". The original archive was in the hands of Fr. Junipero Serra until his death in 1784. With the gradual secularization and confiscation of the California missions in the early nineteenth century, more and more documents came to Santa Barbara, the only California mission to remain permanently under Franciscan control to the present day. These official papers, mostly letters, form the Junipero Serra Collection.

The second Section is called "California Mission Documents, 1640-1853". It forms by far the largest part of the *Calendar*, listing 1,682 items, which are concerned with mission history of California in general, as distinguished from Serra documents. Because of the chronological listing, it is possible to follow the progressive steps of disintegration which the California missions were made to suffer.

From 1853 to 1885 Mission Santa Barbara was an Apostolic College for training missionaries. Section Three, "Documents of the College of Our Lady of Sorrows at Santa Barbara" treats of this college. The items listed (756) are mostly private or quasi-private ecclesiastical documents, of interest mainly to Franciscans and church authorities.

Section Four is entitled "Reports, Statistical Tables, Lists, Etc." and covers the period from the beginning to 1934, during which years the Santa Barbara friary was successively an Indian mission, an Apostolic College, a convent belonging to the Sacred Heart Franciscan Province (1885-1916) of Saint Louis, Missouri, and finally one of the principal convents of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara (1916-). Included in this section are 27 valuable lists of missionaries who worked in California during the years 1796 to 1821. General and special reports (*informes*) on missionary activities are listed; also registers (e.g., Books of Baptisms) and other official mission books, plus various diaries written by Friars of early California.

Section Five includes "Various Documents Not Belonging to the California Collection". There are transcripts and documents concerning Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, New Mexico and Florida, plus an interesting list of old Catholic Directories of the United States, of which the Santa Barbara Archives possess an almost complete set from 1836 to the present day.

The last Section lists "Old Newspapers, Magazines, and Items of Historical Interest".

The format of the volume is pleasing, and there is a satisfactorily complete index of persons, places and documents.

This *Calendar* is an outstanding contribution to the study of California mission history. The author is well within his rights when he says of his book: "Though small in size, it (the *Calendar*) is important for the fuller understanding of Spain's last great mission field in the Indies" (p. ix). I sincerely hope that the Academy of American Franciscan History will be enabled to publish many more bibliographical works of the same high calibre as the present volume.

MATHIAS KIEMEN, O.F.M.

St. Joseph's Seminary,
Teutopolis, Illinois.

The Unity of the Church in the New Testament—Colossians and Ephesians. By Stig Hanson. (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici, Upsaliensis, 14; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Boktrycheri ab, 1946), pp. xi, 197.

The author proposes to study the idea of unity in Pauline theology, and particularly the unity of the Church in Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. However, he first investigates conceptions of unity found in the Old Testament and in the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

In the Old Testament and in the literature of Judaism, monotheism is the source of all other unity. One common origin and belief in one Lord make the world into a unity. But this was soon broken by the opposition between Yahweh and idols, and by the divisions between peoples, particularly between Israel and the Gentiles; fundamentally this opposition is the antagonism between Yahweh and Satan. Besides cosmic unity there is also a national unity in Israel, manifesting itself primarily in the belief in the One God, Yahweh. But there is also disunity in the people, revealed by the schism between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, between the Pharisees and the common people. Thus the actualization of unity lies in the future, at the end of time, when the Messiah comes and the kingdom of God is established. In addition to removing all factors that destroy unity in Israel, the Messiah will represent the people, so that he may be said to be one with them—that is, by identity of representation, the relation existing between two parties when one represents the other and is identical with it in the condition of representation. On the other hand, the kingdom of God connotes the elimination of all oppositions both within and without Israel.

In the teaching of Jesus the world has its fundamental unity of creation; but this, too, has been broken by the antagonism between God and Satan. However, God has created a new unity in the

eschatological community of the disciples of the Son of Man. As the Messiah, Jesus incarnates the new Israel, which due to the identity of representation must be one. The disciples, called to imitate Him closely, in consequence constitute a unity around the Master. Due to their cultic sacramental character, meals also play a significant role in creating unity between Jesus and the disciples, and among them mutually. This is particularly true of the Lord's Supper, at which Jesus receives them into the New Convenant. Finally, there is an identity of representation between God and Jesus, his emissary; in the same way the Apostles sent by Jesus are identical with him. The relation between Jesus and the Church is important in understanding the unity of the Church, which must be one as Jesus is one. Unity, however, will be a perfect reality only with the appearance of the kingdom of God, which in its definite revelation is still in the future. This kingdom implies negatively the elimination of all hostility against God, positively that God's will be done. When the kingdom in an eschatological sense reveals itself, God's dominion will extend itself to the earth, after all opposition has been removed and God's will rules universally.

The central point of Paul's thought of unity is monotheism: every other unity is based on that of God. Besides the unity of creation there is a unity of revelation in the world. Yet it is clear that disunity has entered the world; this disunity is expressed by the opposition between God and idols, sin, the Law, Satan with his demons, and the antichrist. However, the person and work of Christ are unifiers. One man, Adam, sinned. Since he represents and incarnates all humanity, it is said that all sinned. Thus there is an identity of representation between Adam and the human race. Similarly Christ, the Second Adam, represents a new humanity, the Church, which constitutes one corpus with Him. In this aspect Christ and the new humanity are one. An analogous conception is that of Christ as Abraham's seed. On the negative side Christ has eliminated the powers that cause disunity, by His work of reconciliation restoring the original communion between God and man, conquering sin and death, and abolishing the Law. This victory over death in principle pertains also to the Christians, but its actualization lies in the future. Thus Christians live on the borderline between the Old and New Aeon.

Paul, though insisting on Israel's unique position, teaches that the Church is the Israel of God and cannot be divided. His reasoning is based on the fact that Christ is one with the Church. Of essential importance to the understanding of the unity of the Church are baptism, the Lord's Supper, the ministry, and the Spirit. By baptism man is inserted into one body, the Body of Christ, a collective personal-

ity representing a new humanity with which Christ forms one body. Baptism imparts communion primarily with Christ, but also with other persons joined in Christ. By the Lord's Supper, believers partake of Christ in that they share what He has accomplished by His suffering and death. The elements are important in imparting fellowship with Christ, since they may be said to represent Him sacramentally; moreover, participation in Christ includes mutual unity among Christians. As for the ministry, Paul continues the work of Christ; as His representative he forms the Church into a unity and is entitled to control not merely individual congregations, but the Church at large. From a viewpoint of representation he may be said to be one with the Church. Finally, the Spirit has an individual and collective character. As an individual he represents the Church; as a collectivity he is one with the New Aeon into which man is inserted by baptism. Thus the Spirit and Christ may be said to be identical.

But Christ's victory in principle is not completely actualized until the end. The eschatological process implies a resurrection, transformation, and new creation: Christ's resurrection will result in that of all men, while the transformation and new creation will pertain to all creation. At the end God will be the head of the universe—a return to the unity of creation.

In *Colossians* Christ constitutes the unity of the world through creation and atonement. He is the center of the world through creation, at which He represents God and is the medium through whom God is active. Besides being the agent of the creation He is also the goal. Being the uniting force that holds all things together, He is the unity of the world. Since everything stands in relation to Him, the world must be conceived as a unity. He is also the eschatological point of unity of the world.

The idea of the Church as the Body of Christ is stressed here, but a new idea emerges: Christ is the head of the body. Through His atonement He has primacy in the new creation, which comprises heaven and earth; since the whole world has been reunited with God, the atonement has cosmic range. What Christ has accomplished as the head of the Body, man partakes of by being incorporated into the Body through baptism. Christ is the Second Adam; through Him His race is a unity. Those who belong to His Body are thereby reconciled with God, and there is mutual peace among the members of the Body.

The atoning work of the Christ is continued by the Apostle, whose suffering is for the Church and is carried out in Christ's stead. What Christ has achieved in principle is actualized by Paul for the individual believer and congregation.

In *Ephesians* there is an obvious relation between Christ and universal unity, especially in 1, 10, where we may think of Christ as the sum of the world against the background of representation. The relation between Christ and the universe would be conceived in the same way as that between Christ and the Church. Through His atonement Christ represents the world and restores its unity. But the theme in *Ephesians* is the one universal Church, of which Christ is presented as the absolute head. As Christ is filled with God, so the Church is filled (*pleroma*) with Christ, having the commission to continue His work. In this situation the Church is Christ, since there is an identity of representation between them. Christ's universally cosmic position has thus become universally ecclesiastical.

In 2, 20ff, the pervading theme is the idea of the Church as a building, with the Apostles and prophets as the foundation and Christ as the final stone. The individual stones are firmly conjoined: Christians constitute a unity. This denotes both the universalism and unity of the Church. The building grows, in that new members are fitted into the Church. Christ is holy; consequently the Church is holy. The result of all this is that the Church is a spiritual dwelling.

In 4, 15f, the ideas of building and body are joined. The body is thought of as being knit together through the joints and ligaments, combining the various parts of the organism. The purpose of a member is not only to combine, but also to be a channel of nourishment to the other parts of the body. The contribution of each member makes the growth of the body. The nourishment comes from the head, and the member, the individual Christian, has only to pass it on to the rest of the body. The growth is both from and to Christ, Who is the origin and goal. The power of the head is in the individual transformed into the self-building of the Church. The Body grows and is built up with love as its highest principle.

In 5, 23-32, the relation between Christ and the Church is the type of that between husband and wife. The Church is the Bride of Christ, a relationship expressed by Gen. 2, 24; these words are said to contain a *mysterion*, signifying especially the unity between Christ and the Church. The Church is, on the one hand, an independent person, object of Christ's love; on the other hand, it is closely connected with Him and together with Him constitutes a unity.

In 2, 11-19, the readers, who were ritually Gentiles, are now near God and the gifts of grace. By atonement unity is created among men, as well as between God and men. Christ has created peace between individuals and has unified the collectivities—Jews and Gentiles—by destroying the wall between them and abolishing the Law. He has created one man from the two, Jew and Gentile; this is a new

race incarnated in Christ as the Second Adam. Saved humanity is one, since it is thought of as included in its representative, who is one. Thus the two groups of mankind have converged into a higher unity, the Body of Christ.

In 4, 1-6, Paul deals with spiritual unity. Unity exists in the Church because the Spirit exists; believers are tied together by peace or concord between Christians. Having admonished the congregation to keep unity, Paul enumerates his arguments in a sevenfold *heis*—probably a paranaesis of baptism, since all seven members have a more or less obvious relation to baptism. The Church is one whether regarded as Body or Spirit; the two expressions characterize the unity of the Church as to its essence: a material, spiritual corpus. The most important element of unity is faith, the contents of which is Christ, Who is one. The one Christ makes His Church into a unity.

In 4, 6ff, Paul considers the position and task of various members of the congregation, dwelling particularly on the ministers, who have been commissioned by Christ to prepare the saints to serve in the building up of the Body of Christ. The ministry must work that the Church have one faith, or unity of faith. Thus the Christian will be a perfect man: the Church will attain its complete size. In other words, the ministers are to labor for the realization of this eschatological unity.

Hanson devotes a last paragraph to a brief study of John and Ignatius. In the Fourth Gospel, especially in 10 and 17, there is a conscious theological speculation on unity. In particular, both John and Ignatius base the unity of the Church on the unity between the Father and the Son, which would seem to be an identity of representation.

In the above, the reviewer has sketched, as far as possible in the author's own words, the salient features of the work under discussion. He has adopted this procedure in preference to a detailed criticism of the work, which would entail the examination and criticism of fundamental views prevalent in modern critical and ultra-liberal circles. Throughout the book there are many views to which the reviewer takes exception, as will any Catholic reader: e.g., absolute monotheism appears in Israel only with the preaching of the later Prophets (p. 5); the creation narrative has been demythologized, but still betrays mythological influence (p. 6); between the Father and the Son there is an identity of representation, not of nature (p. 35 and *passim*); the Eucharist is little more than a memorial service (pp. 32f and 88), etc., etc. These and many similar thoughts are not always clearly stated by the author; often they are merely taken for granted or implied by the author's words.

Despite the fact that the author's conclusions or opinions proceed from premises that are neither acknowledged by Catholic scholars nor acceptable to them, his work reveals many points of contact, if not complete agreement, with the Catholic doctrine on the Mystical Body of Christ. Yet he visibly shies away from this term.

Obviously the author has studied his sources and all available literature very diligently, as witness a copious bibliography appended to the book and numberless references and footnotes throughout the work. He is aware of the problems that confront him and attacks his task after painstaking philological and exegetical investigation. On this score, the reviewer commends the method of the author and acknowledges the scholarly nature of his work.

ANTONINE DEGUGLIELMO, O.F.M.

*Mt. Alvernia Seminary,
Wappingers Falls, N. Y.*

L'Orientamento Professionale dei Giovani nelle Scuole. By Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M. VITA E PENSIERO, 2d revised edition, Vol. XIX. Milan, Italy: Pubblic. Univ. Cattol. del S. Cuore, 1947. Pp. viii+185.

This study of the eminent psychologist of the Catholic University at Milan deals with the questions of "vocational guidance" in schools. Although considering primarily problems arising within the scholastic institutions and the economic situations in Italy, it is of interest to everyone concerned with these things, because of the broad psychological foundation, the clarity of criticism, and the wide experience of the author. Vocational guidance is desirable in view of individual differences, the gradual stabilization of habits, and the existence of relatively determining psychological laws. Guidance is to be based on the co-operation of school, physician, psychologist, and the family, and has to consider the total personality, not only scholastic achievement. The respective functions of the persons concerned are defined. Guidance is not limited to one or a few examinations or tests; it ought to continue throughout the scholastic years and beyond. Nor do the tests exhaust the meaning of guidance which has to be strictly an educational activity, taking account of the whole personality, aptitudes, interests, inclinations, character. Continuous observation is, at least, as important as are tests. Since it is not always feasible that inclinations, aptitudes, and profession be perfectly harmonized, one needs beyond "vocational" a good deal of spiritual guidance, to enable a man that he withstand eventually the unpleasantness and burden of a not satisfactory occupation. The various fields, educational, medical, psychological, the methods of testing, observation and coun-

seling are described in the fourteen chapters. Appended are notes on specifically Italian problems, on the form for medical examination, on the technique of compiling a scholastic form for guidance, and more than eight pages of bibliography, comprising works and articles not only published in Italy, but in America, England, France, Germany, too. The well-balanced presentation of the questions involved makes this book particularly valuable. One welcomes especially the reference to the necessity that man be considered in his totality, including not only his psycho-physical but also his spiritual nature.

RUDOLF ALLERS.

*Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.*

Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reino de la China. By P. Juan González de Mendoza, O.S.A. Edition, introduction and notes by P. Félix García, O.S.A. Collection España Misionera, Vol. II. Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1944. Pp. LII + 396.

This volume is a new, handy edition of a famous book on China, of a book which was the first comprehensive treatment of the country and the customs of the unknown Middle Kingdom. From the Franciscan standpoint, it is interesting because it spread the news of the missionary journeys of the Franciscans, Pedro de Alfaro (1579) and Martín Ignacio (1581) and their companions, in a few years all over the Western world.

Juan González de Mendoza (1545-1618), its author, was a native of Torrecilla de Cameros in Spain, and went as a lad of eighteen to Mexico, where he soon joined the Augustinian order and began to study for the priesthood. Like many of his contemporaries, he developed a great interest in the mission prospects of the Far East. Through his monastery in Mexico many a famous traveler passed on his way to or from the Philippines, or even China, and Juan González studied their reports and discussed with them the unknown countries of the Pacific. Because he was so interested and informed, he was permitted to accompany in 1574 the Augustinian provincial, Diego de Herrera, who had just visited the Philippines, to Spain. Herrera's report resulted in a new mission of forty friars to the Philippines. Juan González would have liked to go along, but he had to stay behind to continue his studies at Salamanca and to serve as preacher at the famous monastery of San Felipe el Real.

In 1580, after P. Martín de Rada's visit to China, the Spanish king decided upon an embassy to China to open up commercial relations

and the way for preaching the Gospel to the Chinese. Juan González de Mendoza was appointed ambassador. With two confreres he sailed to Mexico, but there he was retained and met with such serious obstacles that he returned to Spain personally to inform the king. But even there he no longer found sufficient assistance so that the idea of an embassy was soon abandoned. Nevertheless, he kept interested in China, and, encouraged by friends, notably Don Antonio de Padilla y Meneses, President of the Indies, and Pope Gregory XIII, he published in 1585 the results of his studies. The success of the book was phenomenal. Within 16 years it went through no less than 38 editions, and appeared in Spanish, Italian, French, English, Latin, Dutch, and German.

González's book is considered the first book of importance in the field of Sinology. Though its author was never in China and held opinions which have since proved false, he gives an honest and scientific account of that empire, treats its geography, its climate, its natural wealth, its religions and customs, its political institutions, as well as some new missionary journeys to China and other oriental countries. As sources he used besides older books like Marco Polo, written reports of travelers to China and their oral information.

Though the book has its importance in the field of Sinology, it is primarily a mission book. Juan González's principal aim was to tell the Christian world of a large, unknown country which was still far-away from Christ and untouched by the work of the missionary.

Today the book is not only a classic of the Spanish language, but an important historic document. We must be very grateful to Father Garcia for this new edition. He has not only annotated the text, but also given us a careful and exhaustive introduction to the author and his work, and has illustrated his edition with numerous old and interesting maps. The book is a worthwhile addition to our mission literature, and takes an honored place in the collection *España Misionera*.

BERNWARD H. WILLEKE, O.F.M.

Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

The Thomistic Philosophy of the Angels. By James Collins. (Catholic University of America Philosophical Series, LXXXIX) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xv, 383.

In this dissertation, written several years earlier, but only recently appearing in print, Dr. Collins, Assistant Professor of Philosophy at

St. Louis University, has given us a valuable and interesting study on Thomistic angelology. Though modestly assuring us he attempts no exhaustive treatise, but presents only the principal problems and these in broad outline, Dr. Collins does much more than merely sketch St. Thomas' philosophy of the angels. He has made a wise choice of topics, dealing as he does with the angelic principles of being, essence and existence, potency and act, as well as with angelic cognition, volition, power, influence upon other angels, the celestial spheres, and the sublunary world. But more than this, Dr. Collins has recognized the importance of the historical background, and studies the conceptions of Aquinas as high-lighted against the teachings of predecessors and contemporaries. Aristotle, Proclus, Avicetron, Avicenna, Averroes, the Summa of Alexander, St. Bonaventure, St. Albert, and Siger of Brabant are dealt with in a way that brings to the fore the author's wide knowledge of recent literature in this field.

Some might think the title, *Thomistic Theology of the Angels*, more appropriate for this study in view of the fact, that with the decline of Aristotelian astrophysical theories, the discussion of the angels was pushed back into purely theological circles. For this reason, Dr. Collins wisely devotes a lengthy introductory chapter on the science and existence of the angels, indicating how St. Thomas could incorporate pneumatology into a realistic metaphysics on the basis of the causality, substantiality, and immateriality of the angels. Though rejecting the Avicennian interpretation that God must necessarily create through the mediation of angels, St. Thomas claimed that reason could establish their existence as the most probable cause of the physical effects observed by the naturalist, even though their existence could not be rigidly demonstrated. Apparently St. Thomas has adopted something of the Commentator's conception of metaphysics, for in the Averroistic view, it is physics which establishes the existence of prime movers or separate substances, leaving to metaphysics the analysis of their properties as immaterial, substantial beings. There is this important difference, however, that St. Thomas could not conclude with certainty to the actual existence of these celestial secondary causes, and, therefore, the angels would seem to be on a par with other plausible causal hypotheses, such as matter and form, which might legitimately be considered by the realistic metaphysician. This also explains why, with the advent of the new physics, angelology came to be rejected as a proper object of a purely philosophical science, though Scotus already expressed his doubts about the validity of incorporating angels into the metaphysics of separate substances.

In his polemic against universal hylomorphism, St. Thomas combats the Avicetronian conception of creaturely composition, sub-

stituting that of Alfarabi and Avicenna who had insisted on the real distinction of essence and existence. This conviction that real simplicity is so intimately a divine attribute that it cannot be attributed to a creature seems to have been a common misconception among the scholastics up to the time of Aureoli.

In his analysis of St. Thomas' relation to Avicenna in the matter of the necessity and contingency of the angels, Dr. Collins seems to lean rather heavily upon Father G. Smith's interpretation of Avicennian "possibility". To the reviewer, it seems more a matter of viewpoint whether the Avicennian "possible" be portrayed as wholly independent of God or wholly dependent upon God. For in one sense, at least, Avicenna has come closer to the accepted Christian interpretation of creatural contingency (*a parte creaturae*) than Averroes, or even St. Thomas himself in the matter of the angels. For Aquinas, according to Dr. Collins, seems to reject this "tendency to non being" (p. 128) and to retain, though of course in a profoundly modified form, that peculiar Aristotelian notion of the Intelligences as a sort of intermediary gods, who as *entia a se* were independent of God in their being, although dependent upon God as the final cause of their *agere*.

The interpretation of Avicenna, however, is a moot question, and this reviewer could hardly take issue with the author for the interpretation he has so ably presented and drawn to its logical conclusions.

A great deal more could be said in praise of this study of Dr. Collins, but, lest this review become unseemingly long, we conclude with the suggestion that the reader interested in this too often neglected phase of Thomistic philosophy, peruse this clearly written scholarly work for himself.

ALLAN WOLTER, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

Treading the Winepress. By William Stephenson, S. J. Westminster. Md.: Newman Bookshop, 1946. Pp. xviii, 336. \$2.50.

Father Stephenson's book deserves a prominent place on the ever-increasing list of spiritual and ascetical volumes written here and abroad. It is a fast and moving presentation of the Gospel narrative on the Passion of our Blessed Saviour, accompanied by spiritual reflections. These are the two main features of the book. In reality, it is a book of meditation on the Blessed Passion of Christ.

The reflections are, in many cases, an expanding of the brief points connected with the Passion, and marked out for special consideration by St. Ignatius, in the Third Week of his *Spiritual Exercises*. A great variety, too, of reflections has been offered, so as to suit the tastes and meet the needs of individual classes of readers.

The first five chapters contain preliminary remarks. They deal with the remote and immediate events leading up to the Passion; emphasis is laid on the importance and on the fruits derived from the meditation of Christ's Passion; general norms or hints are given for a fruitful contemplation; finally, a method of examination of conscience is proposed. The remaining twelve chapters are taken up with the two main features of the book.

The author does not claim much originality for the work; he has culled the best material from various sources. The book is commendable for its easy reading, accurate narrative of the Gospel data, refreshing thoughts, and inspiring reflections.

GREGORY GRABKA, O.F.M. Conv.

*St. Hyacinth Seminary,
Granby, Mass.*

Recalling St. Anthony of Padua. By Rev. Fr. Marcellus Manzo, O.F.M. Cap., M.A., Ph.D., New York City, N. Y. Copyright, 1946. Pp. x plus 55. Illustrated. 8vo. ("Copies of this book may be obtained from the author at 213 Stanton St., New York City, N. Y.")

The proclamation of St. Anthony of Padua as a Doctor of the Church Universal by Pope Pius XII on Jan. 16, 1946, has, as is usual on such and similar occasions, evoked from Franciscan and other literateurs a large bibliography and inspired festive celebrations. Besides the encyclicals by each of the three Minister Generals of the First Franciscan Order, accounts of the various festivities held throughout the world have been publicized, books printed and bibliographies compiled. Among the printed accounts were the beautifully illustrated booklet of 214 pages recalling the celebrations at Padua during the months of May and June, 1946; that of 520 pages recalling the celebrations at Rome; and that of our own American friars conducted on November 11, 1946, at the Shrine and auditorium of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. A more or less complete bibliography on St. Anthony of Padua is about to appear in the next number of the *Report of the Franciscan Educational Conference* held last summer at Santa Barbara, Calif. This reviewer knows of at least two other English works on St. Anthony now on the

press and to appear in the Spring of this year; likewise of a dissertation in preparation for an S.T.D. degree at the Catholic University.

One of the first books in English to appear in print after the solemn Anthonian proclamation by the present Holy Father was *Recalling St. Anthony of Padua* by the above-named Capuchin Father of the Detroit Province. It is a very readable, albeit brief life of St. Anthony, appropriately illustrated by Anthony Thomas Esposito of Brooklyn, N. Y., and pleasingly embellished from time to time with poetical selections. The Preface was written by the Rev. Anthony McBride, O.F.M. Cap., M.A.; the Appendix contains an English translation of the Apostolic Letters creating St. Anthony a Doctor of the Church, taken from the *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, whereas the present Secretary and Socius of the Minister General of the Friars Minor Capuchins, Very Rev. Cuthbert Gumbinger, at that time still in the U. S. A., acted as Censor. The author leans heavily on the biography by Bishop Vittorino Facchinetti, O.F.M., entitled *Antonio di Padova* (Milano, 1925). Since he has evidently intended his book for popular consumption, no one will take it amiss that he did not enter into any of the many controversial questions attending on the life and doctrines of St. Anthony of Padua. With Facchinetti the author assumes that St. Anthony taught the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (pp. 13-14), and also the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, despite the fact that in recent years a rather heated controversy has arisen on the latter point, one Roman Franciscan denying it, another affirming it. Then there is the question of the miracles alleged to have been performed during the life-time of our saint, practically all of them being denied by such an eminent Franciscan critic as Bishop Hilarin Felder, O.F.M. Cap., who follows the learned Tertiary critic, Léon de Kerval, "the Sabatier of Antoniana", due to the fact that they are not found recorded by the best heretofore known legends of the early XIII century. However, both in regard to the doctrines of our saint and to the miracles alleged to have been performed during his life-time, we may well await further investigations and researches before arriving at definite conclusions. Due to the century old traditions in their favor, Fr. Marcellus might well be allowed the privilege of inserting them in a popularly conceived book such as his. The author fittingly elaborates on the interest St. Anthony showed in the Third Order of St. Francis (pp. 20-22) and on his influence on other Franciscan followers from the city of Padua (p. 28).

We gladly recommend this little booklet on St. Anthony to all lovers of Franciscana and heartily subscribe to the words of the preface: "A study of Father Marcellus' life of St. Anthony, written in a direct and simple style, will inspire the reader both to value his own Faith and to preserve it from the dross of worldliness and to exert himself

to bring others to a knowledge of the beauty and saving powers of the teachings of Christ".

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M. Conv.

St. Bonaventure's Convent,
Washington, D. C.

St. Jane Frances Frémyot de Chantal: Her Exhortations, Conferences and Instructions. Translated from the French edition printed at Paris in 1875. Revised. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Bookshop, 1947. Pp. xx+478. \$3.75.

Whatever school of spirituality we belong to, we can find much in the life and writings of any saint to give us inspiration and comfort. So it is with the writings of St. Jane Frances de Chantal. Here we see some of the inner workings of a strong and valiant woman.

Her human qualities attract us. She looked upon sanctity as something not beyond the reach of sinners. Good will and an intense love of God will lead us to holiness. Her congregation of sisters was founded with this thought in mind. She wanted to provide a place where women who aspired to sanctity, yet who were not attracted to the rigorous penances usual in religious orders at the time, could lead a devout and holy life. Sanctity is never easy and she did not intend to make it so. But she did want to show that it is not impossible for ordinary people to achieve it. Hence her advice is supremely practical for the small difficulties and questions that come to mind daily.

The book contains three different parts. Her Exhortations were for the most part formal explanations of the Rule of her sisterhood which follows the Rule of St. Augustine. As such, they would not have too much application for anyone not following the Augustinian Rule. One may, however, admire the wisdom and prudence with which she interprets the Rule.

In the second part of her book, her Conferences, we find the real St. Jane Frances. These conferences were in general conversations that she had with the sisters during recreation in the community room. The sisters would ask their beloved director different questions concerning the spiritual life, and in this informal atmosphere she would answer them simply and practically.

The third part contains twenty-three conversations St. Jane had with her novices. These are more formal than the conferences; still they flow from a soul trying to lead others nearer to God.

There is a wealth of material here for conferences and retreats for sisters. It is packed with insight and down-to-earthness. It is to be

highly recommended to retreat masters and directors of nuns. The Newman Bookshop is to be congratulated for making this fine volume available.

BEDE A. DAUPHINEE, O.F.M.

*Siena College,
Loudonville, N. Y.*

The Life of Christ. By Ricciotti Giuseppe. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1947), pp. xvi, 703.

To acquaint his readers with his purpose in putting forth this new life of Christ, Ricciotti remarks in his preface: "It has been my wish to write an exclusively historical and documentary work. I have studied the ancient fact and not the modern theory, the solidity of the documents and not the flimsiness of any interpretation presently the fashion. I have even dared to imitate the famous 'dispassionateness' of the canonical Evangelists, who have neither an exclamation of joy when Jesus is born nor a word of lament when He dies. It has been my intention, then, to write a critical work."

In setting about to accomplish his stated purpose, Ricciotti first submits a critical introduction of 200 odd pages, which furnishes an accurate word picture of the geographical, historical, political, and religious background. He discusses the sources of the life of Christ, both Christian and non-Christian, assaying them thoroughly, particularly with reference to modern theories of the origin of the canonical gospels. The chronology of Christ's life is also fully treated; it may be mentioned here that the author prefers the two year theory for the duration of Christ's public life. The critical introduction comes to a close with a rather lengthy exposition of Rationalist interpretations of the life of Christ (or should we perhaps say of the mysterious, or even mythical, Christ?).

Thereupon the author passes to the recorded life of Christ, drawing on the canonical account from the angel's announcement of the birth of the Precursor to the Ascension of the Lord. The incidents are usually described in some detail. This cannot, however, be said of the discourses of Christ; quite often Ricciotti is content to let the sacred text speak for itself, although he does submit footnotes or other annotations to clear up outstanding difficulties. Throughout the work he is careful to point out Rationalist interpretations and is equally solicitous in refuting them.

In previous writings the author has proved himself a most competent historian; the reader will find confirmation of this in Ricciotti's

Life of Christ. The historical background he furnishes is accurate to the minutest detail, as far as modern science can reconstruct. His introductory words regarding the canonical sources are so clear and excellent that the reviewer feels this section can be lifted bodily and incorporated into a New Testament introduction for theological students. A similar judgment must be passed on his remarks concerning Rationalist interpretations of the life and figure of Jesus, which the reviewer considers the finest he has read.

Ricciotti's exegesis is fresh and stimulating, and he is at all times logical. More, he is very careful to indicate to his readers the exact degree of certainty there is in the explanation he submits. The reviewer feels that Ricciotti is at his very best when he assails with unusually acute remarks ultra-liberal interpretations of individual scenes or discourses from the life of Christ. It is evident that he possesses the superior weapons, as well as the ability to use them to greatest advantage. He trains them on the flimsy breastworks thrown up by Rationalists and reduces them to just what they are—a heap of mumble-jumble words.

It has been pointed out that Ricciotti's treatment of Jesus' discourses quite often consists merely in quoting the words of the Master as they are recorded in the sacred text. On this score he has been criticized; if the criticism is founded, it is just about the only defect of any consequence in this work. True, there is no systematic treatment of Jesus' doctrine; yet the author's purpose was primarily to describe critically the life of Christ. That is why to some extent one might overlook this lack, as well as the author's sketchy treatment of Jesus' discourses.

It should be quite clear that the reviewer is satisfied in his mind that Ricciotti has definitely accomplished his stated purpose of writing a critical life of Christ. He is sure that this is the only verdict that can be returned by a competent judge in view of the overwhelming evidence—the solidly critical introduction and the solidly critical method of investigation and exposition employed by the author. Whatever criticism may be leveled at this work will fall under the title of omission rather than of commission.

What is to be said of the translation? Ricciotti's style in Italian is excellent for its readability. Though it is a style that is not easy to reproduce in another language, the English translation of this work is quite well done. In setting hand to this translation, Miss Zizzamia has done the English-speaking world a distinct service; it is the reviewer's conviction that she has acquitted herself creditably. The reviewer has noted some typographical errors, but feels it would be petty to point them out individually, since they are very few in proportion to the bulk of the book.

In commenting on the Rationalists' interpretations of the life of Christ, Ricciotti writes (p. 216): "In short, the left wing seems to have consigned the historical Jesus inexorably to the tomb. On one corner of that tomb the mythologists, or their successors, will write *Nemo*; the eschatologists will reject this inscription as a grave offense against history, and in another corner they will write *Ignotus*; but then both groups will proceed to help each other roll the stone against the entrance to the sepulchre. In happy accord, they will affix their seals to it and then sit down together before the closed door to keep their watch." To continue the happy figure of the author, the reviewer would say that Ricciotti has been able to efface both the *Nemo* and *Ignotus* from the tomb. Instead he has brought to his readers in warm, glowing colors the true Jesus, the historical Jesus, just as the historically reliable canonical sources have presented Him to posterity.

The reviewer has read this life of Christ with a sense of deep satisfaction, and he feels that he cannot recommend it too highly for the educated Catholic.

ANTONINE DEGUGLIELMO, O.F.M.

*Mt. Alvernia Seminary,
Wappingers Falls, N. Y.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Annales de l'Université de Paris.* No. 4. October-December, 1947. (Quarterly). Sorbonne, Paris: 1947. Pp. 255-360. 200 fr. per year.
- CAVALLI, FIORELLO, S. J. *O Processo do Arcebispo de Zagreb. Biblioteca Apologetica.* Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 264. 20,/.
- COTTER, MARIE. *Westward by Command.* Cork, Ireland: The Mercier Press Limited, 1947. Pp. 156 + Index. \$2.50.
- DE MARCHI, JOHN, I. M. C. *The Crusade of Fatima.* New York, N. Y.: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1947. Pp. 177. \$1.25.
- DENHOLM-YOUNG. *Richard of Cornwall.* New York, N. Y.: William Salloch, 1947. Pp. xvi + 175 + Index. \$3.75.
- Diocesan Censures Latae Sententiae and Reserved Sins in the United States.* Compiled at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1948. Pp. 38. 50c.
- DOMINI, ANCILLA. *Na Intimidade.* Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 181. 12,/.
- DOYLE, LEONARD. *St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries.* Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's Abbey Press, 1948. Pp. viii + 92. \$2.00.
- ETIENNE, O. M. I. *Manual of Missionary Action.* A translation by Roy L. Laberge. Ottawa, Ont.: University of Ottawa Press, 1948. Pp. 748.
- FABRE, LUCIEN. *Jeanne D'Arc.* Paris, France: Editions Jules Tallandier, 1947. Pp. xvi + 554. fr.
- FERM, VERGILIUS. *Religion in the Twentieth Century.* New York, N. Y.: The Philosophical Library, 1948. Pp. xix + 445 + Index. \$5.00.
- FINN, BRENDAN A. *Twenty-Four American Cardinals.* Boston, Mass.: Bruce Humphries, Inc. Pp. 446 + Index. \$5.00.
- Formação da Donzela.* Jose Baeteman, C. M. Tradução autorizada, de Luis Leal Ferreira. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 416. 45,/.
- FOSTER, FRANCES A. *Some English Words From the 'Fasciculus Morum'.* Reprinted from *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown.* New York, N. Y.: New York University Press, 1940. Pp. 149-157.
- GUMMERMAN, REV. BASIL, O.F.M. Cap. *Handbook of the Third Order Secular of St. Francis of Assisi.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony's Guild Press, 1947. Pp. x + 454. \$4.50 plus postage.

- KANE, REV. JOHN A. *The School of the Cross*. New York, N. Y.: The Declan X. McMullen Company, 1948. Pp. 144. \$2.00.
- MAY, REV. ERIC E., O.F.M. Cap. *Ecce Agnus Dei! The Catholic University of America, Studies in Sacred Theology* (Second Series) No. 5. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 162 + Index.
- MESSIAEN, PIERRE. *Sentiment Chrétien et Poésie Française. Historie Philosophie Religion*. Paris, France: Editions Marcel Daubin, 1947. Pp. 252.
- MOORE, DOM THOMAS VERNER. *The Driving Forces of Human Nature and Their Adjustment*. New York, N. Y.: Grune & Stratton, 1948. Pp. viii + 456 + Index. \$6.50.
- ODULFO, FREI, O.F.M. *A Obra Pia da Terra Santa No Brasil (Apontamentos Historicos)*. Divinopolis, Brazil: Separata da revista "Santa Cruz", 1947. Pp. 174 + Index.
- Revista do Servico do Patrimonio Historico e Artistico Nacional*. No. 8. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1944. Pp. 361.
- RICCIOTTI, GIUSEPPE. *The Life of Christ*. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia. (Second Edition). Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. xvi + 675 + Index. \$7.50.
- SCHUMACHER, RT. REV. MSGR. *Congregational Prayers*. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1947. Pp. vii + 132. \$1.00 plus postage.
- SHAW, S. M. *Salt of the Earth*. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1948. Pp. viii + 237. \$2.75.
- Sobre a Ação Católica. Documentos Pontifícios*. Pio XI. 40. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 18. 1./.
- Sobre a Ação Católica. Documentos Pontifícios*. Pio XI. 42. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 30. 1, 5/.
- Sobre a Igreja Católica. Documentos Pontifícios*. 37. Leão XIII. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda.
- Sobre a Imprensa. Documentos Pontifícios*. Leão XIII. 41. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 30. 1, 5/.
- Sobre a Necessidade e os Caracteres da Ação Católica. Documentos Pontifícios*. 39. Pio XI. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 32. Cr.
- Sobre a Pregação da Palavra Divina. Documentos Pontifícios*. Bento XV. 45. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 25. 2, 5/.
- Sobre as Missões Católicas. Documentos Pontifícios*. Leão XIII. 49. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 16. 1./.
- Sobre Erros Contemporâneos e o Modo de os Combater. Documentos Pontifícios*. 35. Pio IX. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 19.

- Sobre o Estudo da Sagrada Escritura. Documentos Pontifícios.* Bento XV. 44. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 46. 2, 5/.
- Sobre os Erros do Naturalismo e Liberalismo. Documentos Pontifícios.* 36. Pio IX. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 27.
- Sobre os Fundamentos da Ação Católica. Documentos Pontifícios.* 38. Pio X. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 27.
- Sobre os Principais Erros de Seu Tempo. Documentos Pontifícios.* 34. Gregorio XVI. Petropolis, R. J.: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 16.
- SONTAG, NATHANIEL L., O.F.M. Cap.** *Censorship of Special Classes of Books.* Canons 1387-1391. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xi + 147.
- WAGNER, REV. URBAN S., O.F.M. Conv.** *Parochial Substitute Vicars and Supplying Priests.* Catholic University of America. Canon Law Studies No. 265. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University. Pp. ix + 126.



LEARN TO USE A BANK

The wide variety of a bank's services are of incalculable value to its customers and its community.

Learn of the many ways in which you can use FIRST NATIONAL facilities which have been perfected through seven decades of service to Olean and vicinity. Checking, Interest, Safe Deposit, Trust and other facilities are at your command here.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
Olean, N. Y.

Oldest National Bank in Cattaraugus County

MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

Saint Bonaventure College

Saint Bonaventure, N. Y.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Volume One

THE TRACTATUS DE SUCCESSIVIS

attributed to

WILLIAM OCKHAM

Edited with a study on the life and Works of Ockham by
Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.

Even though the *Tractatus* is only a compilation from Ockham's authentic works, it should be warmly welcomed by students of fourteenth-century philosophy as a valuable addition to our very inadequate library of modern editions of Ockham's writings.

E. A. M. in *The Journal of Philosophy*

Medieval scholars will welcome this first publication of the Franciscan Institute, a scholarly edition of Ockham's treatise.

The Catholic World

This is the kind of work which all mediaevalists and students of philosophy will welcome and, perhaps, try to emulate. Modesty, care, precision, understanding and scholarly prudence are the virtues of the good editor; they are well illustrated here. The Franciscan Institute of Saint Bonaventure College is to be commended for the quality of its initial research publication.

Vernon J. Bourke in *The Modern Schoolman*

It is a pleasure to welcome the first number of the promising new series of studies issuing from the Franciscan Institute. And it is especially gratifying to have in easily available form some firsthand material on the thought of one whose work is generally difficult of ready access as is that of William of Ockham.

Ralph M. Blake, in *Traditio*

\$2.00

To subscribers to *Franciscan Studies* \$1.50

Volume Two

TRACTATUS DE PRAEDESTINATIONE ET DE

PRAESCIENTIA DEI ET DE FUTURIS

CONTINGENTIBUS

of

WILLIAM OCKHAM

edited

*With a study on the Mediaeval problem
of three-valued logic by*

Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M.

This authentic treatise of Ockham throws light on the origin of the so-called Thomistic opinion in regard to God's knowledge of future contingent facts. A careful analysis of the logic of this tract reveals the Medieval logic in some of its excellence and modernity. Further text editions from Ockham and other scholastics of the fourteenth century illustrate the discussion.

\$2.00

To subscribers to *Franciscan Studies* \$1.50

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE

SAINT BONAVENTURE COLLEGE

SAINT BONAVENTURE NEW YORK

ALTARS — SHRINES — PEWS — STALLS
STATIONS — STATUES — CONFESSIONALS
and CHURCH FURNISHINGS
in Wood or Marble

•
Write for Information and Prices Today!

THE E. HACKNER CO.

Factory and Studios

LA CROSSE, WIS.

We refer to the following installations:

St. Anthony's — St. Louis, Mo.

Our Lady's — Kansas City, Mo.

St. John's — Cincinnati, Ohio

St. Francis College — Athol Springs,
N. Y.

St. Joseph Seminary — Hinsdale, Ill.

Duns Scotus College — Detroit, Mich.

St. Mary's — Minos, N. Y.

St. Casimir's — Baltimore, Md.

St. John's — New York City

St. Francis of Assisi's — New York City

Greatest Advance
in Candle Making

Root's Bottle Light

The constricted opening means
satisfactory burning winter or
summer.

Root's Rolled Candles

are made by a new process that
means longer burning and greater
strength.

SEND FOR SAMPLE

THE A. I. ROOT CO.

worker in beeswax 79 years

MEDINA

OHIO



FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Announcing
MISSIOLOGY SERIES
VOLUME ONE

**Imperial Government and Catholic
Missions in China
During the Years 1784-1785**

by
BERNWARD HENRY WILLEKE, M.A.

Pages xiv, 226. Price \$2.25. To Subscribers to Franciscan Studies
or Franciscan Institute Publications \$1.75.

THE FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE
SAINT BONAVENTURE, NEW YORK

MARY IMMACULATE

The Bull "Ineffabilis Deus" of Pope Pius IX

Translated by Dominic J. Unger, O. F. M. Cap.

A brief but significant work, which gives the matter of a vital papal pronouncement. The Bull deals principally with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; indirectly, the Pope touches on other truths about Mary, and on the dogma of the development of the Church's doctrines.

40 pp., paperbound, \$0.50

Dept. 4-887
ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS
PATERSON 3, N. J.

The Academy of American Franciscan History
announces the publication of
**A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE
SANTA BARBARA MISSION ARCHIVES**

BY
MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., Ph.D.

Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History;
Bibliographical series, Volume I
Crown quarto; heavy buckram; xiv & 292 pages; fully indexed; \$5.00.
10% discount to Libraries.

The *Calendar* is a most useful archival guide for all interested in the history of the Missions, the history of California and the Southwest in its Spanish, Mexican and American periods, as well as the broader fields of general Hispanic-American history and Indian Ethnology. As such it is a book no library or interested student can afford to be without. It is a basic research tool.

Order from:

THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY
29 Cedar Lane
Washington 14, D. C.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Spirit and Life Series

No. 1.

From Sunday to Sunday

An Interpretation of
The Proper of the Mass
That seeks to place
The Venerable Liturgy
In Modern Focus

by The Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D.

Pp. v, 409, \$3.50.

The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

or

St. Anthony Guild Press
Paterson, N. J.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

History Series No. 1

THREE SAINTS' LIVES
By NICHOLAS BOZON

By SISTER M. AMELIA (KLENKE), O. P.

This work, taken in its compact entirety, is a scholarly study with direct appeal to scholars alone. But a person of any degree of education -- our charming friend, the Average Reader -- will find profit and great delight in the poetic biographies themselves.

Taken from the Foreword written by
The Most Rev. Michael J. Ready, Bishop of Columbus

Pp. LXXVIII, 123. Price \$2.00. To Subscribers to FRANCISCAN STUDIES or FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS \$1.50.

The Franciscan Institute

St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

THE ACADEMY PRESS
WASHINGTON D. C.

FRANCISCAN ART OF EDUCATION*

ST. FRANCIS was neither Teacher nor Master; yet, he exercised a world-wide influence over his contemporaries in the field of education. He was not seated in the cathedra with an air of superiority and complacency; nor issued pretentious directives to his fellows. Rather, wholly wrapt in God, he knelt at the sacred fountainhead of living waters; thus replenished, gave drink to all who thirsted and came to him. The secret of his success was his seraphic love, his simple-hearted modesty, and his heroic striving for great heights. This inalienable heritage, he bequeathed to his faithful followers. His God-inebriated spirit lived on in his foundation, working its theology and spirituality into a pattern all its own. If, therefore, we find it proper to speak of a Franciscan Art of Education, we do not boast of a specific trend in the pedagogical science, to be spread out on the public market of world opinion. Rather, are we thinking of something peculiarly modest; something that is, in fact, obvious and, in reality, nothing other than our common Christian duty to co-operate in the work of bringing the souls of our youth to full maturity.

Though scholar of renown, though master of all the methods of pedagogy, an educator without love is nothing but a school-master. And if his eloquence were irresistible, his personality fascinating, and his private life exemplary, he would indeed elicit admiration, and possibly imitation, but he would not be an educator by the grace of God. Into the sanctuary of the youthful soul, only that love enters which comes from Heaven and moves toward Heaven. Youth wants to grow in body, and in mind and heart as well. God alone is the essence and the welling fountainhead of this sacred love. From this love, Francis drew life and energy. He was called the great Lover, not merely because his love was strong and ardent, but because it was supernatural. Franciscan Theology, harking back to Augustine and

*Fr. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., translated this article from the German.

the old mystics, possesses the characteristic that articulates this love with singular emphasis. As the history of theological development reveals, it was Franciscan Theology that set the heart of theology in its rightful place. In his *Intinerarium*, which leads upward step by step to the knowledge of God, St. Bonaventure points out how the human mind rises from the knowledge of the one and only God Who possesses the plenitude of power, of causality, of absolute perfection, to the knowledge of the Christian God Who is love and overflowing goodness itself. Far from ruling creation from a throne enveloped in frosty solitude, He possesses within Himself an infinitely blissful life of creative, diffusive, and world-embracing love.

Upon this infinite outpouring of divine love, the educator must draw if he desires to give his pupils more than the framework of knowledge and directives of morality. At this burning furnace, he must warm himself and others, lest senility and weariness of life overtake them. To this living harmony of the Triune God, he must attune his ears in order that he may find the proper word which will take fire in young souls and make them enthusiastic for what is right. He who is called to stir and guard the sacred flame in youthful souls may not himself appear burnt out and darksome. We, too, have come to cast fire upon the earth, and what will we but that it be kindled (Luke 12, 49).

Even as our infinite, heavenly Father gives, by generation to His eternal Son, the very highest Good, His absolutely perfect divine Nature, so also must we joyfully and generously communicate what we possess. The truths which we give out must bring joy to ourselves. We must train the young people entrusted to us to go forth as sharers and stewards of our own spiritual riches, even as the Father, without beginning, brings forth His divine Son as the sharer of His bliss and "the brightness of His glory," and together with Him breathes forth the Holy Spirit. When the educator presents divine truths, his attendants should sense that they give joy to himself, and that his happiness increases as they take root, blossom, and bring forth fruit in others. Should he meet with only partial, if

not total, lack of appreciation—and where will this not occur?—he must not give way to frosty sullenness or yield to offended vanity and reckless impatience. Love is long-suffering and kind. In circumstances such as these, even Christ, when He labored on earth, would console Himself and His disciples with hope in that Spirit of Truth and Love Who patiently assembles the little things in the human soul and nurses the heavenly seedling until it takes firm root. He is and remains our Master Educator. We invoke Him before and after the lesson. The educator, Who is his humble assistant, will not fail to implore His help upon his charges. For as long as He is in command, what harm is there in human failures?

In striking fashion, Francis showed the power of his God-given charity in dealing with so-called difficult cases, no less than in correcting the erring and raising up the fallen. Not in vain had he been to school with the kindly Master, the Word Incarnate; not in vain had he followed the Crucified to La Verna's heights. But then, it was and still is his wish that the heirs of his spirit perpetuate the work of his seraphic love. And this applies foremost to those who are entrusted with the education of youth. Unswervingly, they must stand for discipline and order, but never lower themselves to gloomy zealotry or fossilized bureaucracy. For these evils, there is a remedy: a loving glance at the Creator of nature or, better still, a deeper insight into the mystery of creation as set forth by the theologians of our Order. Mark with what reverence for the divinely established laws of nature Bonaventure proceeds to show in his *Breviloquium* and *Itinerarium*, and also in his *Commentary on the Sentences*, how the Almighty, in His wisdom, set in order the things He had taken from nothing and how, in His love, He adorned them with beauty. In reading these pages, one senses the warm breath of his God-filled and nature-loving spirit, his reverence for the sacred majesty of order, and his joy in the beauty of what is good and right.

To a still higher degree does all this apply to the moral order and to that golden rule of right which is to guide us through this labyrinth of earthly conflicts; namely, the laws of God. Hence, the Franciscan educator produces his master-

piece when he succeeds in imbuing his charges with a sincere and loving reverence for the will of the Most High, and a hearty enthusiasm for order both in the natural and supernatural sphere. It is a mistake to force upon the young man those precepts which tend to his sanctification; rather, he must be trained to grow into them, as it were, organically. The dynamic trend in the Franciscan pattern does not suffer the brutal suppression of nature; no, it calls for an overall fostering of its growth until the ripe fruit is garnered in the high heavens in the eternal fulfillment of its personality. Needless to say, the hand that bestows favors may also inflict punishment. The superior who, in the eyes of his subjects, elevates obedience to an office of honor, and order to a state of beauty, can well afford to make great, yea, the very greatest demands. This all the more, if he is not a driver, but a high-minded lover of liberty. The upward growth of rational nature must be free and voluntary. Besides, an innocuous wild sprout is always better than complete cessation and decay of organic life. This applies with equal force to the ethical order. Nature has its minor irregularities, and every earnestly striving youth has his peculiarities. To bear with these and to turn them into good is far more difficult and meritorious than violently to suppress them.

Freedom and joy are as needful to growing youths as sunshine is to plant life. May we never deny them these gifts of God. Francis stood out as a harbinger of joy to humanity, and, for that very reason, he became a skillful moulder of human life. His bare exterior life was overgrown with the ivy of cheerful frugality. It is well to recall that a refreshing, sunny atmosphere always permeated the lowly cells of Franciscan scholars. Let us, therefore, leave to young people their innocent joy—and even their harmless pranks. While the warm, the gentle hand that befriends may chastise as it sees fit, the cold, haggard hand of the surly and morose hurts wherever it touches. He who gives much may demand much. If we are generous in giving, we may as well be bold in demanding.

Neither among his predecessors nor contemporaries do we find anyone who laid as much stress upon the formative value

of good example as Francis did. Even as an illiterate layman, he achieved more by his life than his words. The reason was because, in humility and utter disregard for the opinions of men, he pursued his high ideal, and remained unharmed by the sickening breath of the whims of worldly standards. Only he can exercise the apostolate of good example who is truly humble, and herein Francis excelled without question. It is fair to conclude that those of his followers who are charged with the responsible work of the education of youth will succeed in proportion as they reach their Father's ideal. Vainglory and the seraphic art of education exclude each other in the same manner as idolatry and divine worship. He who seeks himself is certain not to find the souls of others; least of all, the souls of the young. Youth wants champions and pioneers, not self-sufficient, tired old men. For that reason, tutors must possess an equal share of modesty and progressiveness. He who considers himself perfect, surrenders his higher life to the grave. How can such a one assume the role of stimulating and directing the lives of others? Like a fool, he struts about on a sand hill and exclaims: I have reached the highest point! But, meanwhile, the happy throng of youthful wanderers presses upward from one height to another.

Nietzsche had good reason when he scornfully chastised the attitude of wretched connivance in those who seem sick of virtue and tired of progress, who swell up with vanity, and stifle all growth and activity. The Franciscan ideal of poverty, if properly understood in its spiritual value, does not suffer such offshoots in the growth of the soul. In the spiritual, ethical spheres, the true educator must retain the consciousness of his native poverty, and in the domain of religion that of his absolute dependence and necessary reliance on God. Magnanimous in his disregard for changeable riches, he will seek only values that are eternal. Little as he is, a true Friar Minor, he does not aspire to futile, despotic lordship over his fellows; no, he aims at the higher development toward the perfection of personality in the blessed realms above. Thus, he is, as David of Augsburg puts it, "a beggar at the gate of heaven," always searching, striving, and finally grasping his goal. The courage to dare, the

desire to achieve, and humility coupled with piety, sustain the soul of the educator, and endear to him the hearts of the young. We not only want a dynamic force in our Theology; we also hope to find in our asceticism a directive that is full of energy and conducive to healthy growth. This is a sacred tradition with us Franciscans, and a timely program for our youth. This flame must penetrate and transfuse the Franciscan educator, because it carries the note, not of modernity, but of the spirit of Christianity.

The master stroke of Franciscan Education is the insistence on the requisite authority, coupled with genuine kindness, humility, and respect for the liberty of others. Not every one succeeds in this, and no one attains perfection, but all must strenuously strive for it as long as they hold responsibility. Success is assured in proportion as the educator seeks to establish a filial and ideal relationship with God and his superiors. Francis was the most reverent and submissive Religious. His reverence for the Triune God made him bend down into the dust, but it also raised him up again to the liberty of the children of God. In this is found a real service, because it loves and makes allowance, and does not tear down. He was a mighty reformer, but not a revolutionary; a frank critic even of abuses in the Church, and yet her most faithful and obedient son. In the course of years, the wings of his fiery, forward, darting spirit were somewhat restrained,—it is true, by consecrated hands—but his free and sturdy soul attempted even greater heights. With reverence, he received the wounds, inflicted in his submission, as tokens of his likeness to Christ, and he buried them lovingly in his bleeding heart, even as he bore the stigmata on his weakened body. But as our stigmatized Saint he has bequeathed to us his immortal *Canticle of the Sun*, and that luminous and vibrant world-outlook that permeates its very line.

The authority of the educator is a solemn vote of confidence by the great Master-Teacher of mankind, a bright resplendence of divine Fatherhood. The teacher must exercise it in the goodness of the eternal Father, in the long-suffering of the Incarnate Son, in the burning zeal of the Holy Spirit. Once he has stood

the strenuous test of wholehearted, manful submission, he is able, also, to inspire those who are entrusted to him. In this there is need of plain dealing and piety rather than of self-assertiveness and caprice. Youths have a tendency to stress personal peculiarities, and demand that individualities be respected. This right cannot be altogether denied them, even though frequently they go too far, because they lack experience and maturity. It is the educator's duty not to suppress, but to elevate the individual peculiarity of every one. This costs more labor and self-denial than does the forced routine of personal opinions and tastes. Yet, even the divine Educator allows the pure spirits to possess their individual qualities; nay more, He has so endowed them. Franciscan Philosophy demands a thorough understanding of the individual in nature, and this is among its most enviable characteristics.

It is precisely on this score that the ascetic may never abandon his pattern. He must live what he was taught. Clear and pure must this striking note ring forth, but never shall it cause a discord. Here is the most telling test for the Franciscan Educator; namely, that he demonstrate to his pupils by word and deed how each one should attune his instrument to the harmony of the community ensemble and skillfully fit his part into the sublime symphony of the Blessed Trinity. "Be you perfect as also your heavenly Father is perfect," is the summons of the Preacher on the Mount. This is our ultimate aim from which none of our charges may depart or be distracted. This is where all efforts of personal development must meet, the educator in the front line of his charges.

Steep is the heaven-towering rock of the ideal; hard to climb and not without peril are the roads that lead thither. The "arduum", which is the soaring height of the True, the Right, and the Beautiful, plays an important role in Franciscan Asceticism, above all in the works of St. Bonaventure. How could it be otherwise! Was not Francis a champion tourist, an idealist who knew no boundaries, who all his life was scaling summit after summit? When still a youth, he sought to emulate the prudent merchant. He set out to exchange his wares for articles of

greater values until, at last, he surrendered all to gain the pearl of great price. Through many windings, though always certain of its aim, his life moves upward to the Most High—an Excelsior of unrelenting courage, regardless of tiring feet and a bleeding heart. After him marches the youthful army of his sons, under the leardership of the Franciscan Educator. His is the role of a mountaineer, a fearless climber of the loftiest heights. In genial companionship, he must train his young recruits, like the sportsman who, to gain a victory, exerts himself with unbending will. "Many exercise the body, few the will," writes Bonaventure, and this saying is of great significance today. The one thing we must do, while not leaving the other undone. The latter is more important than the former; in fact, in our pattern a strong and healthy physique serves as a powerful means towards the strengthening of the intellectual and moral faculties. A tried sportsman is always a man of will power, and, if he be a Christian, a valiant competitor for the laurels that never fade. He feels the constant urge for new victories, and, what is more important, for new and more daring flights toward his ideal. He is the very opposite of the vain amateur who does things that he may shine, who climbs high mountains that he may boast of the feat, rather than sink his own little self into the grandiose vista before him and God's marvelous creation around him.

The Franciscan Educator must never cease stimulating youth towards aiming higher and higher; never grow weary enticing them to pass on from summit to summit. Surely, the young man should rejoice in his success, not because it is his accomplishment, but because it is right and good. The mountaineer, too, will fix his tent upon some craggy outpost to rest there and feast his eyes on the vista thus obtained. But then new mountain giants arise in the distance, and again he sets out, fired by the desire to reach them. Franciscan Idealism is insatiable. The poorest and lowliest among the saints was also the most ardent in the race towards the supernal mark. There is no time to build tabernacles by the wayside; not even on Thabor did the Lord give leave to his disciples. We are always on our way to the ideal; we are yearning, striving, struggling forward, "pilgrims

and strangers on earth", as in his *Testament* Francis admonished his disciples both of the world and the cloister.

The Franciscan Educator should emulate an experienced traveling companion. Surrounded by the youthful aspirants in his care, he marches stoutly and cheerily forward along the steep and stony roads which he has walked so often on his way to the rugged heights ahead. He is not the sullen driver that forces his men forward while he chooses to stay behind. When danger looms, he stretches forth his hand to warn and guide; if any one falter through fatigue or weariness, he cheers him up, while holy zeal makes him forget his own exhaustion. He teaches him to brace himself, and gather new strength from his failure. When the top is reached, he finds new courage both for himself and his companions at the sight of the glorious vistas and the heights that lie ahead. He leaves no room for selfish gratification; rather, he diverts the attention away from the vain idol-worship of the Ego to the true and genuine joy in what is good, true, and beautiful. In the sublime and profoundly spiritual Franciscan teaching concerning the God-head, he has learned that, oblivious of himself, he must submerge in the sacred and eternal source of absolute perfection. In holy awe, we turn our wondering gaze to the divine Persons Who in their ineffable communion possess the full enjoyment of the divine essence. In the contemplation of this sublime mystery, how can mortal man find satisfaction in his own miserable successes, and restrain his admiration for the majestic dignity of what he seeks: Right in itself and for its own sake? High above all earthly accomplishments, there thrones the Ideal even as the sun thrones over the earth, and like the sun it must penetrate with light and warmth all created being.

Numerous are the lessons that the educator may derive from the Franciscan world outlook. But since he is faced with what

is properly termed "arduum", it follows that it will make extraordinary demands upon his idealism. Much is gained and more to be obtained towards the education of youth if, to say the least, we find ourselves on the way to our Ideal.

DR. F. IMLE

*Werl in Westfalen,
Germany.*



The author of this learned article, Dr. Fanny Imle, was born April 2, 1878. Through her intense study of philosophy and the social sciences, Dr. Imle has been led to the Catholic Faith. Although almost completely blind, Dr. Imle, a fervent member of the Third Order of Saint Francis, has written several works concerning the doctrine of Saint Bonaventure and the Franciscan School. Some of these books include: *Die Theologie des hl. Bonaventura* 1931. *Gott und Geist. Das Zusammenwirken des geschaffenen und ungeschaffenen Geistes im höheren Erkenntnisakt nach Bonaventura* 1934. *Das geistliche Leben nach der Lehre des hl. Bonaventura* 1939. Several other works are ready for print. In the bombing attack on Paderborn, March, 1945, Dr. Imle lost her home and property.—Ed.

THE INCARNATION – A SUPREME EXALTATION FOR CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN DAMASCENE

IN PREVIOUS STUDIES, we have examined the writings of St. Irenaeus, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril of Alexandria with the view of ascertaining their stand in regard to the ends of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word.¹ We found that these three eminent Doctors of the Church are in no way opposed to the Franciscan doctrine of the Absolute Primacy of Christ Jesus, but teach it in many varied ways. In the present study, we purpose to examine the writings of St. John Damascene, who was a close follower of the three Fathers just mentioned.

In his time, the doctrine of Christ's Incarnation and redemption was a fairly well settled matter. Besides, St. John was chiefly concerned with the controversy on image worship. Consequently, we do not find long treatises on the Incarnation in his works. Nevertheless, by combing them we can gather that he held, as his predecessors, much the same in regard to Christ's Absolute Primacy.

GOD'S GOODNESS IS THE END OF CREATION AND OF THE INCARNATION

More than once, St. John tells us that God created this world and all creatures because of His immense goodness.

God who is good and altogether good and more than good, who is goodness throughout, by reason of the exceeding riches of His goodness did not suffer Himself alone, that is, His nature, to be good, with no other to participate therein, but because of this He made first the spiritual and heavenly powers, next the visible and sensible universe, then man with his spiritual and

1. FRANCISCAN STUDIES, V (1945), 3-20; 114-137; VI (1946), 30-53; 171-194; VII (1947), 1-25.

sentient nature. All things, therefore, which He made share in His goodness in respect to their existence.²

This same immense goodness of God moved Him, so to speak, to will the Incarnation and the redemption.

In the bowels of His mercy He became man, and in all things like unto us, save sin, and was united to our nature. As we had not preserved His image, He himself came to unite Himself to our poor nature, to purify us, to make us incorruptible, and again share in His Godhead. . . . This is why by His Incarnation, His Baptism, His Passion, and His Resurrection, He delivered mankind from the sin of its first parent, from death also and corruption, and became the principle of our resurrection and the perfect model of our life.³ God gave us His Son out of His great love for us.⁴

CHRIST WAS ETERNALLY IN GOD'S PLAN

God had a preconceived plan of all created things.⁵ Among His creatures who were in an especial manner predestined is the Mother of Christ.

For she being preordained by the eternal prescient counsel of God and imaged forth and proclaimed in diverse images and discourses of the prophets through the Holy Spirit, sprang at the predetermined time from the root of David, according to the promises that were made to him.⁶

She, the chosen one of the ancient race, by a predetermined counsel and the good pleasure of God the Father—who had begotten Thee (Christ) eternally and in an immaterial manner—brought Thee forth in the latter times, Thou art appropriation and salvation, justice and redemption, life of life, light of light,

2. *De fide orthodoxa*, l. 4, c. 13 (P. G., 94, 1136C). For the translation of this work we used that of Rev. S. D. F. Salmond in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York, The Christian Literature Company, 1899), but we made changes wherever it seemed advisable. See also l. 2, c. 2 (P. G., 94, 864C-1865A).

3. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 13 (P. G., 94, 1137B).

4. *In I Corinth.* 15:4 (P. G., 95, 689).

5. *Orationes pro sacris imaginibus*, I, n. 10 (P. G., 94, 1240D); see also III, n. 19 (1340C). The translation is by Mary H. Allies (London, Baber, 1898).

6. *De fid. orth.*, l. 4, c. 14 (P. G., 94, 1156A).

and true God of true God . . . The Father predestined her . . .⁷

If Mary were so predestined from all eternity, certainly, by a more cogent reason, Christ was predestined from all eternity. True, St. John does not state that Mary was predestined prior to God's foreknowledge of sin, but that seems to be implied. Why should he stress the eternal predestination of Mary, whom he so eloquently extolled elsewhere as all holy and sinless, if she were willed merely as a consequence of the sin of Adam? If Mary were predestined before the foreknowledge of sin, so was Christ.

CHRIST WAS WILLED FOR HIS OWN EXALTATION AND GLORY

The Incarnation was a tremendous grace, and a marvelous exaltation for Christ. The human nature of Christ was deified by the very hypostatic union.

For the Word Himself became flesh, having been in truth conceived of the Virgin, but coming forth as God with the assumed nature, which, as soon as He was brought forth into being, was deified, so that these three things took place simultaneously: the assumption of our nature, the coming into being, and the deification of the assumed nature of the Word . . . who (God) deified the nature that He assumed, while the union preserved these things that were united just as they were while being united.⁸ For Christ is the Son of the living God whom the Father anointed with the Holy Spirit; in the words of holy David, "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."⁹

The deification of Christ's human nature was not through a confusion of natures, but through union.

For through the union in subsistence the flesh is said to be deified and to become God and to be equally God with the Word; and God the Word is said to be made flesh, and to become

7. *In Dormitionem B. M. V.*, I, n. 3 (P. G., 96, 701D-704A). The translation is by Mary H. Allies.

8. *De fid. orth.*, I, 3, c. 12 (P. G., 94, 1032B).

9. *Ibid.*, I, 4, c. 9 (P. G., 94, 1120B-1121A).

man, and is called creature and last: not in the sense that the two natures are converted into one compound nature . . . but in the sense that the two natures are united in subsistence and permeate one another without confusion or transmutation.¹⁰

The Eucharistic Body of Christ is also deified.¹¹ Because of the deification of Christ's human nature, He is called Christ; that is, the anointed.

Further, by the word Christ, we understand the name of subsistence, not in the sense of one kind, but as signifying the existence of two natures. For in His own person He is anointed Himself; as God anointing His Body with His own divinity, and as man being anointed. For He is Himself both God and Man. And the divinity is the anointing of His humanity.¹²

In another long passage, he argues from St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril of Alexandria that before the Incarnation the Word was not called Christ; only through the Incarnation did He get that name.¹³

Our Doctor tells us that the deification of Christ took place in order "that He might elevate our nature, and make us partakers of His divine nature."¹⁴ That is true chiefly of Christ's human nature. The very first purpose of the Incarnation was to deify the individual human nature of Christ. Twice, St. John distinguishes between the Incarnation as an exaltation of Christ, and the Incarnation as far as it was an emptying in passible flesh.

For when our discourse deals with the higher aspect, we speak of the deification of the flesh and His assumption of the Word and exceeding exaltation and so forth, making manifest the riches that are added to the flesh from the union and natural conjunction with the most high God the Word. And when our discourse deals with the lower aspect, we speak of the Incarna-

10. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 18 (P. G., 94, 1184C); cf. l. 3, c. 17 (94, 1068B-1069A); l. 3, c. 19 (94, 1080D-1081A).

11. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 13 (P. G., 94, 1148A, 1149AB).

12. *Ibid.*, l. 3, c. 3. (P. G., 94, 989B).

13. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 6 (P. G., 94, 1122, 1113).

14. *Pro sacrificis imaginibus*, I, n. 4 (P. G., 94, 1236B).

tion of God the Word, His becoming man, His emptying of Himself, His poverty, His humility. For these and such like are imposed upon the Word and God through the admixture with humanity.¹⁵

We are hardly stretching the thought of St. John if we say that Christ was always willed because of the exaltation, but sin made Him also accept the humiliation. This thought is quite in keeping with that of his predecessors, St. Athanasius and St. Cyril of Alexandria. He must be interpreted in the light of their writings, which he paged very frequently and to which he refers.

Of course, the deification of Christ as the Son of God meant the enjoyment of eternal glory, of which Christ was never deprived, not even in this world.

Even though, therefore, that holy body was never devoid of divine glory, but was perfectly enriched by the glory of the invisible Deity, so that the glory of the Word and of the flesh was one and the same. Nevertheless, since this glory remained unseen because of the visible body, the Invisible One made a revelation to those who, because of the bonds of the flesh, were not able to grasp the things that were invisible even to the angels. And so He was transfigured . . .¹⁶

Such a masterpiece of divine glory was hardly predestined only after the knowledge of sin, and, primarily, as a remedy against sin.

CHRIST IS OUR MEDIATOR

Jesus, who deified His own human nature, which is exactly like ours, also deified our nature. The natural Son of God who became Man in our flesh also made us sons of God.

Thou didst deliver the world from the aberrations of many gods and didst make men the children of God, partakers of Thy divine glory. Thou didst raise the human race which was con-

15. *De fid. orth.*, l. 4, c. 18 (P. G., 94, 1184B); see also 1184D and 1185A.

16. *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, n. 12 (P. G., 96, 564BC); cf. *De fid. orth.*, l. 4, c. 18 (94, 1188B).

demned to hell above all power and majesty, and in Thy person it is seated on the King's eternal throne.¹⁷

From the time that God the Word became flesh, He was as we are in everything except sin, and of our nature without confusion. He has deified our flesh forever, and we are in every deed sanctified through His Godhead and the union of His flesh with it. From the time that God, the Son of God, impassible by reason of His Godhead, chose to suffer voluntarily, He wiped out our debt, also paying for us a most full and noble ransom. We are truly free through the sacred blood of the Son pleading for us with the Father . . . and since we have been born again of water and the Spirit, we are truly sons and heirs of God.¹⁸

For since He bestowed on us His own image and His own Spirit, and we did not keep them safe, He Himself took a share in our poor and weak nature, in order that He might cleanse us and make us incorruptible and establish us once more as partakers of His divinity. For it was fitting that, not only the first fruits of our nature should partake in the higher good, but every man who wished it, and that a second birth should take place that the nourishment should be new and suitable to the birth, and thus the measure of perfection be attained. Through His birth, that is, His Incarnation, and Baptism, and Passion and Resurrection, He delivered our nature from the sin of our first parent and death and corruption, and became the first fruits of the resurrection, and made Himself the way and the image and the pattern, in order that we, too, following in His footsteps, may become by adoption what He is Himself by nature, sons and heirs of God and joint heirs with Him. He gave us, therefore, as I said, a second birth, in order that, just as we who are born of Adam are in his image and heirs of the curse and corruption, so also, being born of Him, we may be in His likeness and heirs of His incorruption and blessing and glory.¹⁹

In saying it was fitting that not only Christ, the first fruits of our nature, should share in the higher goods, he seems to imply

17. *In Dormitionem*, I, n. 3 (P. G., 96, 704D-705A).

18. *Pro sacrī imaginibꝫ*, I, n. 21 (P. G., 94, 1253BC).

19. *De fid. orth.*, I, 4, c. 13 (P. G., 94, 1137BC); cf. c. 9 (1120B-1121A).

that Christ was always predestined to enjoy those higher goods, and had never lost them for Himself. We were predestined in Him, had lost them through sin, and Christ gives them back to us.

This deification and sonship is attained by mankind by the very fact that Christ's human nature was taken from ours. "Through Him human nature rose from the lowest depths of the earth higher than the skies, and in His person sat down on the throne that His Father had prepared for Him."²⁰ That was primarily Christ's own human nature. Again,

We hold, moreover, that our nature has been raised from the dead and has ascended to the heavens and taken its seat at the right hand of the Father, not that all the persons of men have risen from the dead and taken their seat at the right hand of the Father, but that this has happened to the whole of our nature in the subsistence of Christ. Verily the holy Apostle says, "God hath raised us up together and made us sit together in Christ." (Ephes. 2:6).²¹

The deification of our individual natures, however, does not consist merely in the fact that Christ assumed our nature, but also in this that He gives grace to each one. It was through grace that Adam was deified.²² This new Christlike nature that we receive must be made more godlike through the practice of virtues. Having spoken of our being sons and gods, St. John continues:

Now I mean gods and kings and lords not in nature, but as rulers and masters of their passions, and as preserving a truthful likeness to the divine image according to which they were made (for the image of a king is also called a king) and as being united to God of their own free will and receiving Him as an indweller and becoming by grace through participation with Him what He Himself is by nature.²³

St. John's doctrine about deification and sonship is summed up in the following passage.

20. *Pro sacrīs imaginibīs*, I, n. 18 (P. G., 94, 1249A)

21. *De fid. orth.*, I, 3, c. 6 (P. G., 94, 1007A); cf. *Pro sacrīs imaginibīs*, III, n. 26 (94, 1343AB).

22. *De fid. orth.*, I, 2, c. 12 (P. G., 94, 924A).

23. *Ibid.*, I, 4, c. 15 (P. G., 94, 1164B).

These (the saints) are they who are made like to God as far as possible, of their own free will, and by God's indwelling, and by His abiding grace. They are truly called gods, not by nature, but by participation; just as red-hot is called fire, not by nature, but by participation in the fire's action. He says, "Be ye holy, because I am holy."²⁴

As we have noticed, St. John mentions delivery from sin, death, and corruption in this process of deification. But, as we said, time and again in the studies on St. Irenaeus, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril, that must be understood as secondary in the order of intention, from which the primary intention of deification as such is independent. The exaltation of Christ's human nature through the Incarnation was so supreme that God would not have willed the Incarnation primarily with dependence on sin.

CHRIST IS OUR PATTERN

Above, we heard St. John call Christ not only our Way, but also our Image and Pattern. He stresses this divine exemplarism frequently when arguing against the image-breakers. The Eternal Son is the perfect image of the Father, differing from Him only in this: He is Son and not Father.

An image is a likeness of the original with a certain difference, for it is not an exact reproduction of the original. Thus, the Son is the living, substantial, unchangeable image of the invisible God, bearing in Himself the whole Father, being in all things equal to Him, differing only in being begotten by the Father, who is the Begetter; the Son is begotten.²⁵

"The Son is the first natural and unchangeable image of the invisible God the Father, showing the Father in Himself." He proves this from a number of Scripture texts, and concludes: "The Son is the natural image of the Father, except that He is begotten and that He is not the Father."²⁶ Besides, "the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son . . . The Holy Spirit is the perfect

24. *Pro sacrīs imaginibīs*, III, n. 33 (P. G., 94, 1352A).

25. *Ibid.*, I, n. 9 (P. G., 94, 1240C).

26. *Ibid.*, III, n. 18 (P. G., 94, 1337C, 1340AB).

and unchangeable image of the Son, differing only in His procession."²⁷

Now, the Son is the image of the Father, not merely in His divine nature, but also in His human nature. That is clear from the fact that St. John uses the passages of Scripture which speak of the Son as the God-Man. It is thus that He reveals God to us, as we shall see. Consequently, man is made to the image of the Son and the Father. Christ who dwells in man gives this image to man through the Holy Spirit.²⁸

The Son of God became man for the sake of restoring to man the image of the Word,²⁹ and, in that sense, He was made man for the sake of man.³⁰ Moreover, when the Son actually came, He was made man according to the image of Adam.³¹ However, that does not mean that Christ, as man, was the pattern of man only after the fall of Adam was foreseen, and there was need of restoring the image. No, Christ as man was the image of man from the very beginning, if He was willed primarily for His own exaltation.

The very fact that Christ is the image of God makes Him the revealer of God. It was Christ who brought us the safe knowledge of God;³² God became visible through Christ.

It is clear that when you contemplate God, who is a pure spirit, becoming man for your sake, you will be able to clothe Him with the human form. When the Invisible One became visible flesh, you may then draw a likeness of His form. When He who is a pure spirit, without form or limit, immeasurable in the boundlessness of His own nature, existing as God, takes upon Himself the form of flesh, then you may draw His likeness and show it to anyone willing to contemplate it.³³ Therefore, (because of the hypostatic union) I venture to draw an image of the invisible God, not as invisible, but as having become visible

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. *De fid. orth.*, I, 1, c. 13 (*P. G.*, 94, 856).

29. *Ibid.*, I, 3, c. 18 (*P. G.*, 94, 1072C-1073A)

30. *Pro sacris imaginibus*, III, n. 42 (*P. G.*, 94, 1360C).

31. *De duabus voluntatibus*, n. 30 (*P. G.*, 95, 168C).

32. *De fid. orth.*, I, 4, c. 4 (*P. G.*, 94, 1108D).

33. *Pro sacris imaginibus*, I, n. 8 (*P. G.*, 94, 1240AB).

for our sakes through flesh and blood. I do not draw an image of the immortal Godhead. I paint the visible flesh of God, for it is impossible to represent a soul, how much more God who gives breath to the soul.³⁴ Now, however, when God is seen clothed in flesh and conversing with men, I make an image of God, whom I see.³⁵

Because the Word Incarnate was to reveal God to men, it was He who appeared in the form of man even in the Old Testament, and revealed God to men like Abraham, Moses, and Daniel.³⁶ In fact, the Word became incarnate for this very reason of revealing God, image of God that He is. "Now, however, all things are permeated with light and splendor. The Creator and Lord of the universe has become man, in order that God, who cannot be known by men, might be known through and in Christ, inasmuch as He shows forth the brightness of the divine nature."³⁷ It was always God's intention to reveal Himself to man by making the image visible at some time, because an image that would be invisible would cease to be an image. "The image of what is invisible, were it also invisible, would cease to be an image. For the image, inasmuch as it is an image, even with us, must not differ in any way from the impression of the likeness."³⁸ The reason for this is that

. . . every image is a revelation and representation of something hidden . . . The image was devised for greater knowledge, and for the manifestation and popularization of secret things, as a pure benefit and help to salvation, so that by showing things and making them known, we may arrive at the hidden ones, desire and emulate what is good, shun and hate what is evil.³⁹

CHRIST IS OUR REDEEMER

Staunch follower of tradition that St. John was, it was natural that he taught the redemption of mankind through the death of

34. *Ibid.*, I, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 94, 1236C).

35. *Ibid.*, I, n. 16 (*P. G.*, 94, 1245A).

36. *Ibid.*, III, n. 42 (*P. G.*, 94, 1369B); n. 26 (1345B).

37. *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, n. 4 (*P. G.*, 96, 552B).

38. *Pro sacris imaginibus*, III, n. 42 (*P. G.*, 94, 1368D).

39. *Ibid.*, III, n. 17 (*P. G.*, 94, 1337A).

Christ on the cross,⁴⁰ and that the Son of God became incarnate for our salvation.⁴¹ Frequently, he informs us that Jesus came to *restore* the image that we had lost through the sin of Adam. Redemption is a restoration.⁴² Are we justified in arguing from this that the Son became incarnate, originally and primarily, in order to restore grace to man? Some would answer yes, because in his sermon on the Transfiguration he states explicitly that we received the better and safer converse with God through Christ, not having preserved the original likeness.⁴³ This, they claim, can be true only if the grace of Adam at creation were not the grace of Christ, and if Christ had not intended to come unless we had sinned. But that is not true. The Fathers considered the actual existence and presence of Christ a more perfect grace than that of Adam before the fall, and they taught, at least implicitly, that Christ was intended as a Mediator from the beginning. What is more, many Fathers taught that the grace we have since Christ's coming is greater than that of the people in the Old Testament. After the fall of Adam, all grace is certainly Christ's grace; therefore, no objection can validly be made from the above passage of St. John.

Someone might insist that St. John expressly taught that we would not have received the great grace of Christ if we had preserved the first grace.

For, if we had preserved the first fellowship with God, we should not have obtained that which is more eminent and admirable. Now, however, that we are repelled from the first fellowship by sin, because we neglected to preserve what we had received, we have obtained the mercy of God and have been taken back that that fellowship might be safe from all danger. For He who assumed [us] can bring it about that [our] conjunction be inseparable.⁴⁴

In answer to this objection, first, as far as St. John's doctrine

40. *De fid. orth.*, l. 4, c. 4 (P. G., 94, 1107C); l. 3, c. 27 (1096C).

41. *Ibid.*, l. 3, c. 12 (P. G., 94, 1028C); l. 4, 11 (1129A).

42. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 4 (P. G., 94, 1108A); *In Ephesios 1:10* (P. G., 96, 824D).

43. *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, n. 4 (P. G., 96, 552C).

44. *Homilia in B. M. V. Nativitate*, I, n. 8 (P. G., 96, 673A).

is concerned, this is not his sermon. Secondly, the grace to which the unknown author is referring is the "inseparable" gift of having our grace in Christ, the secure foundation, Who can never lose the grace. This gift is actually given to us only after the sin; popularly speaking, the sin was necessary before we could receive it in the order of execution. Thirdly, the grace of Christ the Redeemer, provided He was predestined as Mediator and for His own glory, prior to the foreknowledge of sin, is greater for Himself and for us than that of Christ as Mediator without a redemption.

Again, someone might try to raise an objection from the fact that St. John wrote that woman was created for generation only after sin entered the world.⁴⁵ However, he must have held that woman as such was intended apart from sin as man's helpmate, which is really a fact revealed in Scripture. He could hardly have held what St. Augustine had refuted so emphatically; namely, that there would have been no generation in the state of innocence, if this had continued. Therefore, he could only mean that woman was intended only after sin to co-operate in procreating children with concupiscence.⁴⁶

We do not agree, therefore, with M. Jugie that St. John, in regard to the motive of the Incarnation, is without contradiction on the side of St. Thomas, and that he never points out any other motive of the Incarnation of the Word than the salvation of man and his restoration to the state from which he fell through sin, and that only by accident, as it were, he gave glory to God by manifesting His goodness, wisdom, justice, and power.⁴⁷ St. John is not on the side of St. Thomas; he follows the traditional doctrine of St. Irenaeus, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril of Alexandria on the exaltation of Christ through the deification of the Incarnation, and presents this *simpliciter* as the motive of the Incarnation.

45. *De fid. orth.*, l. 2, c. 30 (P. G., 94, 976); cf. l. 4, c. 24 (1208).

46. Cf. Franc. M. Risi, Ord. S. Joan. a Deo, *Sul motivo primario dell'Incarnazione del Verbo* (Roma, Descee, 1898), III, 326.

47. *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique* (Paris, Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1925) XVI, 730.

CHRIST IS THE FINAL SCOPE OF CREATION

That St. John's doubtful passages must be interpreted as we have interpreted them, is clear from the fact that he makes Christ the final scope of creation and salvation. Mary, the Mother of Jesus, by the very fact that she is the Mother of God, is the Lady and Queen of all creation. "Assuredly she who played the part of the Creator's Maid and Mother is in all strictness and truth and reality God's Mother and Lady and Queen over all created things."⁴⁸ "For the Son made all creation minister to His Mother."⁴⁹ But, according to Blessed Duns Scotus' reasoning she, and *a fortiori* Christ, must have been willed as the first of all creation in the world order in which they would at any time exist; the end must be first in intention. That is our Doctor's view of the matter, for he wrote: "In this way God spoke of old to the patriarchs through the prophets, and lastly through His only-begotten Son, *on whose account He made the ages*."⁵⁰ Notice that he does not say that the ages *are*, at present, for Christ; he says that they *were made* for Christ. That includes all creation from the very beginning, because these ages existed, were made, for Christ long before the sin of Adam. Moreover, this is not true of Christ as God only. The Father did not *make* the ages for Christ as God; they *are* for Him equally with the Father. Therefore, this passage can only mean that the Father made the ages for Jesus, the God-Man. If this is the case, Jesus was first in the mind of God, because even God must will the end first.

Also, according to St. John Damascene, then, Christ Jesus is the Absolute Primate of all creation, being the final scope of all creation, and having been willed because of His own exaltation through the Incarnation. If St. John did not write at greater length about these things, as did some of his predecessors, it is because they had treated it very extensively, and there was no occasion for dealing with it in an especial manner.

DOMINIC J. UNGER, O.F.M. CAP.

*Capuchin College,
Washington, D. C.*

48. *De fid. orth.*, I, 4, c. 14 (P. G., 94, 1161A).

49. *In Dormitionem B. M. V.*, II, n. 14 (P. G., 96, 741C).

50. *Praeceptio iuris ecclesiastici*, I, p. 4 (P. G., 94, 1226A).

PEDRO DE LA PIÑUELA, O.F.M.,
MEXICAN MISSIONARY TO CHINA AND AUTHOR

FAITHER ANTONIO CABALLERO, O.F.M., who reestablished the Franciscan Missions in China on a firm basis in 1633, realized that several hindrances were threatening the very survival of his cherished apostolate. To overcome them, he decided in 1662 to send his confrère and only companion in Shan-tung Province, Fr. Buenaventura IBÁÑEZ, to Europe on a threefold mission: to inform the Holy See concerning problems of mission praxis, to recruit new missionaries, and to seek some means for their permanent support.

Buenaventura's mission met with success. In Roma, he was granted a benevolent hearing, while in Valencia he recruited eight friars; namely, Fathers Blas DOMINGO, Juan MARTÍ, Juan of Jesus, Ignacio Antonio ROSADO, Francisco PERIS, Juan MARTÍNEZ, and Jaime TARÍN, and Brother Blas GARCÍA. Finally, in Madrid, the Queen of Spain, Mariana of Austria, endowed the mission with an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred *pesos* to be deducted from the *caxa real* of México. When all was arranged, Buenaventura led the chosen eight to Cadiz whence, in 1669, they sailed from Honduras, and then painfully journeyed to Guatemala City where all fell sick, and two, Juan of Jesus and Blas DOMINGO, died.

They then proceeded to México City; however, since there was no galleon bound for the Philippines in 1670, they spent a year in the hospice of San Agustín de las Cuevas of the Philippine Province of St. Gregory, studying Chinese under Fr. IBÁÑEZ, and attending to the spiritual needs of the natives.¹

1. Jaime TARÍN, O.F.M., "Historia Y Relacion breue de la entrada en el Reyno de China la Mission que truxo de España nuestro Hº. Comissario Fr: Buenaventura Ybañez. Escrita Por Fr: Jaime Tarin Religioso de ñro Padre S. Fran:co y compañero de la misma Mission. Año de 1689" (holographic MS; Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, Wason Collection; first two chapters, 19 unnumbered leaves), p. 4 b; Severiano ALCOBENDAS, O.F.M., *Las misiones franciscanas* (Madrid: E. Mestre, 1933), p. 271.

FRATER PEDRO JOINS THE MISSION

To replace those two who died in Guatemala, Fr. IBÁÑEZ sought to take along two other friars from the San Diego Province of México. Upon consultation with Father Provincial, he recruited Frater Miguel PÉREZ and Pedro de la PIÑUELA, who were then Deacons and near the end of their theological studies.² They were both born in México: PÉREZ, according to PIÑUELA, was “ex Mexicana regione oriundus”,³ while PIÑUELA was born of Spanish ancestry in México City.⁴

When all arrangements were completed, the mission crossed the country to Acapulco, and awaited the ship that set out for the Philippines on 19 March 1671.⁵ From there, Fathers IBÁÑEZ, MARTÍ, PERIS, and TARÍN, and Brother GARCÍA sailed toward Macau on a small Portuguese vessel, Easter Sunday, 17 April

2. TARÍN, “Historia”, p. 4b-5a: “fueron escogidos, y nombrados para tan santa obra: el Hermo. P.^{dor} Fr. Miguel Perez: y el Hermo. P.^{dor} Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela q̄ acababan por entonces el curso de theologia, los quales comenzaron desde aqui su viage, caminando con los demas al Puerto de Acapulco, para embarcarse.” Compare ALCOBENDAS, *Las misiones*, p. 272.

3. Pedro de la PIÑUELA, O.F.M., “Catalogus Religiosorum S.P.N.S. Francisci”, Anastasius VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1942), vol. 4, p. 330, nro XXVI. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica* (Quaracchi, 1936), vol. 3, p. 161 note 4, cites Robert STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. 5, p. 583, as bibliographical reference to Miguel PÉREZ, overlooking the fact that STREIT sketches there his homonymous confrère who was born in Spain, was sent to the Philippines to Japan in 1612, returned to Manila in 1620, and died in Madrid 26 October 1639, long before our PÉREZ was born. The same confusion of two persons in one is to be found in Joannes RICCI, *Hierarchia Franciscana in Sinis* (Wuchang, 1929), p. 27. Our PÉREZ was born in Mexican territory, entered the Franciscan Order in the San Diego Province of México, went to the Philippines in 1671, was ordained a priest in Manila in 1672, went to China in 1676, returned to the Philippines in 1677, dying there in 1694.

4. PIÑUELA’s epitaph, quoted below in note 42, reads: “NATIONE HISPANI, PATRIA MEXICANI”. In a letter to Fr. Mateo BAYON of 24 January 1684, PIÑUELA says of himself: “Hermano nuestro hizome la naturaleza mexicano y criollo.” VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 280, 329 nro XXV; Otto MAAS, O.F.M., *Cartas de China* (Sevilla: Izquierdo, 1917), series 2, p. 41. VAN DEN WYNGAERT states on page 253 that he was born “patre hispano et matre indigena,” apparently misinterpreting the word *criollo*, which in this case means Mexican-born Spaniard.

5. IBÁÑEZ’s autobiography in VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 321. According to TARÍN, “Historia”, p. 5a (ALCOBENDAS, *Las misiones*, p. 272), the departure took place on the eve of the feast of St. Joseph, 18 March 1671.

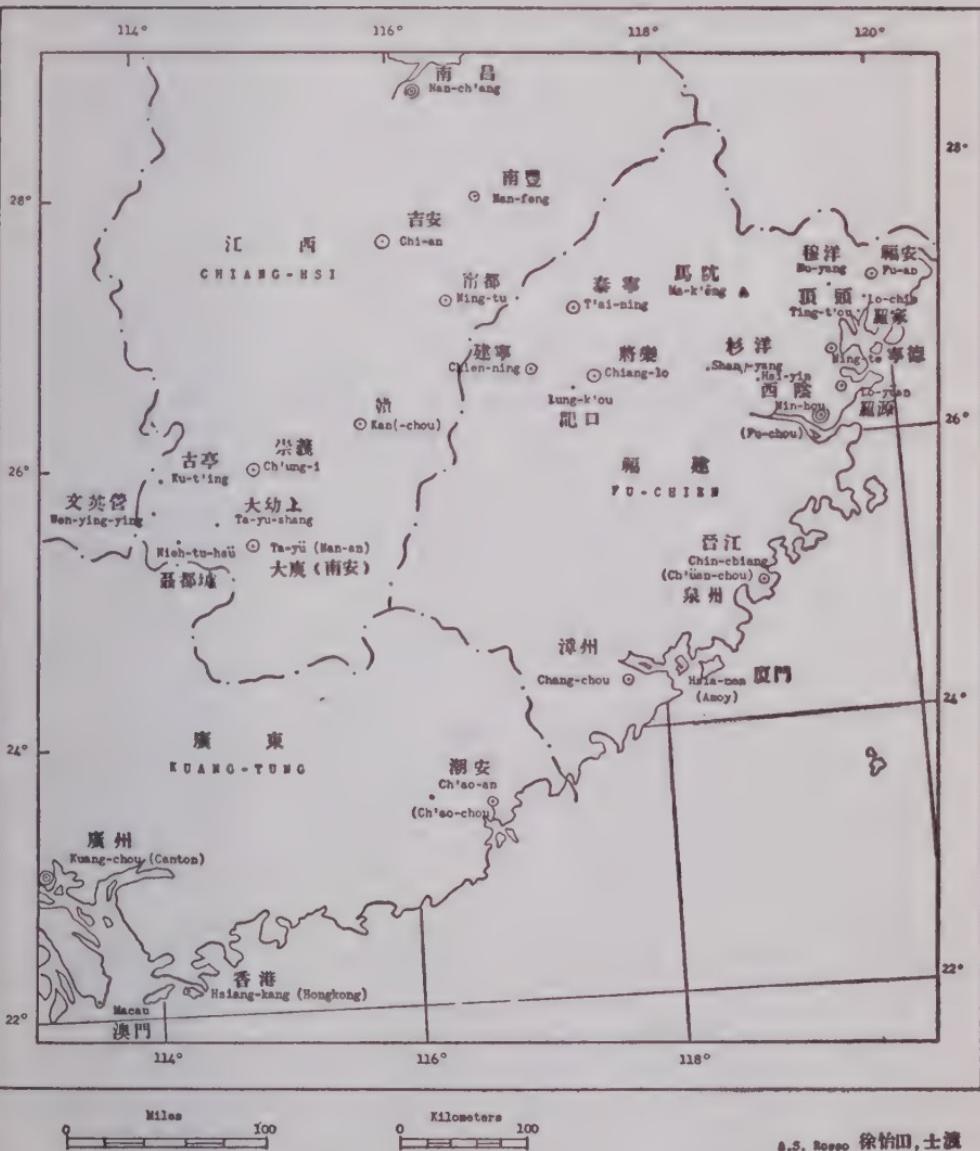
1672,⁶ while PÉREZ and PIÑUELA remained in Manila to be ordained in the course of the year, looking forward to an opportunity to enter China and realize their missionary aims.

Finally, on 4 June 1676 Father Pedro de la PIÑUELA⁷ along with his confrère Miguel FLORES and two Dominicans embarked on a junk, and on the 20th reached the coast of China, landing at Hsia-mén (Amoy) in Fu-chien Province. Then, they proceeded to Ch'üan-chou where they were welcomed by Fr. Gregory Lo Wén-tsao, O.P. After a wearisome trip, they arrived at Lo-chia-hsiang, Fr. Lo's birthplace, and were greeted by the faithful. Informed of their arrival, Fr. Agustín of Saint Pascal, O.F.M., at the time still in Fu-chien hoping to reach the old Franciscan Mission in Shan-tung, came to meet them and lead them to Ting-t'ou. While Fr. FLORES remained in Ting-t'ou, on the 2nd of September Fr. Agustín took Fr. PIÑUELA to Ning-tê to the Dominicans. They were hardly settled there when the Manchu armies advanced on Fu-chien to subjugate the southern provinces, and unify the country under Manchu rule. As a consequence, the missionaries had to repair successively to the mountains of Hsi-ying, Shan-yang, Ma-k'êng, and Mu-yang.⁸

6. TARÍN, "Historia", p. 5a; ALCOBENDAS, *Las misiones*, p. 273.

7. Concerning PIÑUELA, Félix de HUERTA, O.F.M., *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso, de la santa y apostólica provincia de S. Gregorio Magno* (Binondo: M. Sánchez, 1865), p. 525, says: "Permaneció en Manila hasta que, ordenado de sacerdote, salió para las misiones de China el año de 1676"; and Eusebio GÓMEZ PLATERO, O.F.M., *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas* (Manila: Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1880), p. 300, says that he "profesó en la Provincia de San Diego, viniendo aun corista á Filipinas, ordenado de Sacerdote pasó á China en 1676." The same GÓMEZ PLATERO on page 299 states that PÉREZ "era Diácono quando vino en la misión, profesó en la Provincia de San Diego de Méjico; hecho ya Sacerdote fué instituido confesor en 1672, salió para China en 1676." See also VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 323.

8. In contemporary writings, these placenames are spelled *Sieing* (*Sicing*), *Samiang*, *Makeng*, and *Moiang*. See MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 29-30, 151-152; VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, pp. 447-458, and vol. 4, p. 254, 264-265. All Chinese placenames mentioned in this article are spelled according to the WADE and GILES system of transcription as rendered in *Gazetteer of Chinese place names based on the index to V. K. Ting Atlas compiled by the United States Board on Geographical Names* (Washington, D. C.: Army Map Service, 1944), and on large scale maps of China published by the Army Map Service which were kindly placed at my disposal by the Board on Geographic Names, U. S. Department of the Interior. See the accompanying map, the base for which was also provided by the Board on Geographic Names.



Map of Southeast China

S.S. Rosso 徐怡田, 士波

Not long afterwards, Fr. Pedro returned to Ning-tê where he exchanged visits with the local authorities as preliminaries of his apostolate in that section.⁹ He worked for some time in Ning-tê, later assisted by Fr. Bernardo of the Incarnation, O.F.M.,¹⁰ with gratifying success, but he cherished the idea of more expansion and new establishments to emulate the fine example set by Fr. PERIS who had just founded a church outside the walls of the rapidly expanding Kuang-chou city.¹¹

NEW CHURCH IN CHIANG-LO

Availing himself of the good services of two locally influential scholars, Fr. Pedro, by January 1679, was determined to open a new church in Chiang-lo, a district town in west Fu-chien, eighty leagues (some 200 km.) west of Ning-tê.¹² In fact, soon after the celebration of the Chinese New Year—which occurred that year on 11 February—he set out for Chiang-lo where he met opposition and troubles of all description, but he finally succeeded in buying a house in a suitable location for 113 taels.

The local faithful, even though heavily burdened with war taxation, contributed to the best of their ability to adapt the house for residence and chapel. After seven months of painstaking negotiations and work, the new church was dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Thus, Fr. Pedro had the opportunity to gather people of good will, and to preach to them the doctrine of salvation. During his first stay there, he made one hundred conversions among infants and adults.

9. In a letter of 1 November 1677 to his Provincial, he says: "Despues que vine a esta iglesia me determine a ver los mandarines, aunque pareze que no tenia bastante lengua, y las ceremonias que se usan son muchas." (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 267; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 31.)

10. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 375, 379; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 1 ff.

11. This church had been dedicated to St. Francis on 16 July 1679. See VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 179 ff, and vol. 4, p. 4, 14-16, 110; ALCOBENDAS, *Las misiones*, p. 308.—Kuang-chou is erroneously called Canton by Westerners.

12. In a letter to Fr. Miguel MADRIDEJOS dated Ning-tê, 14 January 1679, he expressed his intention thus: "Yo al presente quedo casi con el pie en el estribo para ir a una ciudad a fundar, donde, por haber dos licenciados cristianos, hombres de mucha suposición, se podrá conseguir una casa para comprarla y hacer la iglesia." MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 32.

Soon after the dedication of the church, Fr. Pedro's presence was reported to the district magistrate who felt bound to inform the governor and the brigade general that a European, possibly a heretic or spy, was living in his territory, and asked whether he should evict him. Warned of this action, the missionary requested a Christian official to submit on his behalf a memorial both to the governor and to the brigade general notifying them of the acquisition of a house and begging their acquiescence. The governor immediately sent a reprimand to the district magistrate and a proclamation to the missionary for the protection of his person and church.¹³

Chiang-lo proved to be the core of a centrifugal movement of evangelization. Indeed, Fr. Pedro fully realized the convenience of opening stations in towns and villages very near one another. Upon completion of the first foundation, he started an eleven month journey in search for souls, and, in January of 1680, was able to report a new foundation at Lung-k'ou, a village four leagues from Chiang-lo where he had forty souls, an old house, eighty beams ready for the necessary alterations, and the intention of building a church in the course of the year.¹⁴ The chapel was eventually built and dedicated to the Holy Saviour.¹⁵

Jurisdictional difficulties compelled him to return to Ning-tê,¹⁶ but, in 1681, he again went northward to establish a new church in T'ai-ning dedicated to St. Peter of Alcántara.¹⁷ He had already acquired a house in Chien-ning in 1681, but, unable to pay for it, he had to content himself with renting it. Neverthe-

13. Letters to his Provincial dated Lo-yüan, 6 January and 7 February 1680. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, pp. 272-273, 275-277; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 34-35, 36-39.

14. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 274; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 35. The name of this station is spelled *Lunkien* by Miguel FLORES (at least in MAAS, p. 153); *Lun-Keu* by Félix de HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526; and *Lungkeu* by VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 610 note 6, 780 note 5, and by TARÍN, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 115.

15. HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526.

16. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, pp. 223-225, 512-513, 524.

17. See report of 30 December 1684 in VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 291; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 46. See also HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526.

less, he adapted it for a church dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe.¹⁸

In a few but eloquent figures submitted to his Provincial in 1684, Fr. Pedro recapitulated his eight years of apostolate, thus:

"In three towns and one village I erected four churches where the Christians assemble and recite aloud litanies and other prayers, and where the heathens see the images of the Saviour, of his blessed Mother and of the holy angels exposed, attended and gilded. So far 423 persons have been baptized."¹⁹ It was a remarkable feat for a young missionary laboring all alone and crossed with indigence, war, hostile magistrates and heathens. Just when Pedro's prospects loomed brightly, Fr. PERIS, Provincial Commissary, in 1684 enjoined all his subjects to suspend all ministry while he asked Fr. Provincial whether to take an oath of submission as required by Bishop François PALLU, M.E.P. Under the circumstances, Fr. Pedro repaired to Kuang-chou. This suspension lasted until January of 1685, when Bishop Bernardino DELLA CHIESA, O.F.M., relieved the missionaries from the obligation of taking the oath, and reinstated them in their ministry.²⁰

ACTIVITY IN KUANG-TUNG AND CHIANG-HSI

In May 1685, Bishop DELLA CHIESA took Fr. Pedro as his companion during a pastoral visitation through the Provinces of Kuang-tung, Chiang-hsi, Fu-chien, Chê-chiang, Chiang-su, and Hu-kuang. Pausing at Chien-ning and Chiang-lo in Fu-chien, Fr. Pedro administered 112 baptisms and the Bishop 400 confirmations. They collected more spiritual fruits in other localities, and found consoling fervor everywhere. By 26 February 1686, they were

18. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 292; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 46.

19. "En tres villas y un pueblo he levantado cuatro iglesias donde los cristianos se juntan, y en vos alta rezan letanias y otras oraciones, y donde los gentiles ven colocado, servido y dorado las imagenes del Salvador, su Madre santissima y santos angeles. Anse baptizado en este tiempo 423 personas." Report of 30 Dec. 1684 in VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 293.

20. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 254.

back in Kuang-chou, where in the old walled city he baptized some thirty converts for a total of five hundred.²¹

Shortly afterwards, Fr. Pedro, together with Fr. Bernardino MERCADO, O.F.M., newly arrived from Manila, set out for Ch'ao-chou to open a church in the house acquired for the purpose by Fr. Agustín of Saint Pascal, Provincial Commissary, on 25 March 1686.²² Ch'ao-chou, now called Ch'ao-an, is a city in Kuang-tung Province, some 350 km. east of Kuang-chou and near the borders of Fu-chien.²³ Fr. Pedro set to work at once, and the church was soon erected and dedicated to Our Lady of the Annunciation. To meet the spiritual needs of the local lepers, he opened outside the city wall a chapel in honor of Our Lady of the Assumption.²⁴ HUERTA, who had access to the original mission letters, states on page 606 that this mission became, in time, a center of forty-eight stations.

Fr. Pedro worked there with gratifying results until mid-August of 1687,²⁵ when obedience sent him out as knight-errant to Nan-an, Chiang-hsi Province, where the mission had acquired a house the year before. The fact that there were no Christians in Nan-an made the start very difficult, but patience and zeal worked wonders.²⁶ Not only had he the joy of building a fine church in

21. PIÑUELA's letter of 2 March 1686 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 299; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 50-51). *Laoching* is not a village near Kuang-chou (Canton), as VAN DEN WYNGAERT opines, but designates the old intramural city (*lao-ch'êng*) of Kuang-chou to distinguish it from the new section of the city expanding outside the city walls.

22. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 604, 616, and vol. 4, p. 300, 303.

23. MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 53 note 6, is mistaken in assuming that this city is "distante 34 leguas de Canton hacia el Norte". See also VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 255. Evidently both Authors confused it with Shao-chou which is at present called Ch'ü-chiang. Fr. Francisco de Santa Inés, in his report for the year 1688 (MAAS, p. 169), refers to this city as lying "a los confines de Fokien" where it is correctly marked on the map appended to VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3.

24. MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 54, note; VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 255, 305.

25. Letter of 16 September 1687 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 306; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 56).

26. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 6, 10, 613, 617, 621, 639-640, and vol. 4, pp. 307-310, PIÑUELA reached Nan-an (at present called Ta-yü) on 2 November 1687.

honor of St. Joseph, but, after six months of evangelization, his efforts were rewarded with 160 baptisms of men and women.²⁷

Overwork and humidity obliged him to retire for treatment and rest to the Franciscan infirmary of Kuang-chou.²⁸ A few months afterwards, he was in Chiang-hsi again to labor for Christ; according to Fr. Agustín's report, on 14 August 1689, he dedicated a church to Our Lady in Wēn-ying, lying about forty km. northwest of Nan-an.²⁹ Again in the Spring of 1691, he succeeded in acquiring a house for a church in Chi-an,³⁰ a station which, since 1693, was attended and developed by Fr. Gregorio IBÁÑEZ, O.F.M., who also dedicated the new church to St. John the Baptist.³¹

Fr. Pedro continued to sow the good seed indefatigably within and without Nan-an, and for the year 1693 he actually reported 135 baptisms. During the same year, he built an addition to the house. Moreover, one of the faithful residing in the old city arranged his own house to serve the purpose of ladies' chapel, while the pastor endowed it with an altar and altar-screen. Likewise, in the new city, Fr. Pedro built up from the foundation another church for ladies, as he experienced many troubles in the past for want of such churches. He concluded his annual report by noting that his ministry in Chiang-hsi, however slow, was,

27. Letter of 3 October 1688 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 314; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 63).

28. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 643, and vol. 4, p. 314; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 61-64.

29. "Noticia de la Mission Serafica de China desde 4 de Octubre de 1688 hasta el mismo dia del año siguiente de 89," VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 749.

30. In his letter of 4 April 1691, Fr. TARÍN reports thus: "El hermano predicador Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela anda tambien ya ocupado en tomar otra casa en la provincia de Kiangsy en una ciudad llamada Kieganfu que esta despues de la de Nangan en el camino azia Nanking." (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, pp. 122-123). At the end of the same letter, he states that the mission took possession already of the house "que es la de la ciudad llamada Kiegan, la qual tomo el hermano predicador Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela con muy buen successo en todo." (*Ibid.*, p. 129).

31. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 143, 172, 178; MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 105, 119.

nevertheless, responsible for over a thousand conversions during the six years since its inception.³²

Usually, a city church represented a center of Christian irradiation within a whole administrative or geographical region. Nanan was no exception. In fact, Fr. TARÍN, then Provincial Commissary, in his annual report for the year 1695, records four churches in Chiang-hsi Province in charge of Fr. Pedro; namely, two in Nan-an, another rather large in Wèn-ying, a small one in Nieh-tu, and two stations in Ch'ung-i and Ta-yu.³³ Undoubtedly,

32. "En quanto a lo material, este año se fabrico un quarto pequeño que ha dado el ser a la casa, y a mas un christiano en la ciudad vieja ha dispuesto su cassa que sirva de iglesia de mugeres, y le he dado altar, e imagen; y en la ciudad nueva tengo estos meses levantada a fundamento una iglesia de nuestra Señora assimismo para la administracion de las mugeres, que por falta de lugar ha avido en esto muchas quiebras. Y finalmente aunque este ministerio va con flemá, hallo que en seis años que se fundo, pasan los baptizados de mil." PIÑUELA's letter of 31 December 1693 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, pp. 315-316; MAAS, *Cartas*, p. 69).

33. In his report of 28 October 1695, TARÍN related: "PROVINCIA DE KIANGSY. 15. Cinco yglesiias tiene la mision en esta provincia. Una muy buena, con su casa, en la ciudad de Nangan, dedicada al Esposo de Maria Santísima. Es su capellan el hermano Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela, hijo de Mexico. Ademas de esto, tiene otra yglesia dentro de la ciudad, para la administracion de las mugeres. Otra casa y yglesia capaz en la aldea Vuenjin. Otra pequeña en la aldea Ningtu, con las christiandades que tiene hechas en las aldeas Chuny y Tayeu." (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 178; see also p. 255). Lorenzo PÉREZ, O.F.M., *Origen de las misiones franciscanas en la provincia de Kwangtung* (reprint; Madrid, 1918), p. 185, giving the same text, hyphened these place-names thus: *Nan-gan*, *Vuen-jin*, *Ning-tu*, *Chu-ny*, and *Tay-eu*. Transcribing the same text, MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 118-119, spelled them thus: *Nangán*, *Vuensin*, *Nietu*, *Chuni*, and *Tain*. With the exception of *Ningtu*—which should have been spelled *Nietu*—, VAN DEN WYNGAERT's transcription reproduces the original spelling. In Ning-tu, which was a *villa* (district town) and not an *aldea*, the Franciscans did not have a house and church before 1698. Wèn-ying(-ying) and Nieh-tu(-hsü) were in Ch'ung-i district, and Ta-yu(-shang) in Nan-an district, all lying in the neighborhood of 25°30' N and 114°15' E. On some large scale maps, they are denoted by what may be called a geographic denominator (*ying* "settlement", *hsü* "market", *shang* "hillside"), which is usually added to the current name in formal references.—HUERIA, *Estado*, p. 607, accredits PIÑUELA with a church "fundada en 1693" in Chu-ni, Kuang-tung Province, and "dedicada a Nuestra Señora para las mugeres." Apparently, HUERTA confused two stations of somewhat similar name lying in two different provinces, Kuang-tung and Chiang-hsi. To identify unmistakably Chinese names of places and persons, Chinese characters are indispensable, since the Chinese language is full of homophones and the romanizations are many and inconsistently used.

quite a few more stations were scattered in that section and others that were not recorded in the general reports compiled for the distant superiors.

After his transfer to Fu-chien Province in 1694, Fr. Pedro was repeatedly invited by some faithful of Ning-tu, Chiang-hsi, to open a church in their city, since the Jesuits in charge of the section were not in a position to attend them properly. But Fr. Pedro at that time had plenty to do in his own field and no money to spare for anything else; hence, he attended them occasionally so far as his new assignment allowed him. Finally, in 1698 a house was bought in Ning-tu that was visited by the then Commissary, Fr. José NAVARRO, and eventually a church was opened there.³⁴

ACTIVE END

At the Provincial Chapter held in Manila on 6 June 1699, Fr. Pedro was elected Provincial Commissary of the Franciscan Mission in China.³⁵ It was a particularly happy choice for he was a really worthy representative of Franciscan ideals. His letters show him a meek and generous man, a humble and pious religious, and a zealous and resourceful missionary. Always true to himself, he was paternally charitable to his converts, ever kind to his fellow-missioners, and promptly obedient to his superiors even when obedience meant heart-breaking abandonment of long cherished achievement, as in the foundation of Chiang-lo. Total devotion to his cause kept him averse to interference and querulousness, so much so that he appeared to work spiritually alone, as he was most of the time physically "solo como un esparrago."³⁶

During his office, taken in August 1699,³⁷ Fr. Pedro displayed

34. See NAVARRO, "Quaderno", MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 193; TARÍN's letter of 25 April 1700 in VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 189; PIÑUELA's report of 10 May 1700, *ibid.*, pp. 355-358.

35. MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 205.

36. Letter of 24 January 1684 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 282).

37. "En principio de agosto recevi el pliego de V. C. y halle el ser electo yo, aunque indigno, comissario de esta santa mission." Letter to his Provincial dated 25 September 1699 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 316).

eminent tact in settling disputes of competence and privileges between religious societies and apostolic zeal in expanding his Franciscan Mission. In 1700, he resided in Macau, and endeavored to link the southern missionaries and stations with those in the north. To this effect, he had a church opened in Kan-chou,³⁸ Chiang-hsi Province, where his predecessor, NAVARRO, had previously acquired a house.³⁹ Not long afterwards, Bishop Alvaro de BENAVENTE, O.S.A., contested the Franciscans' right to settle in this city and church, but the Commissary stood firm on his solid right. Thus, this Franciscan outpost was maintained. After two years, he moved to Nan-ching, but, falling ill, he, consequently, had to be hospitalized in Kuang-chou.⁴⁰

In June of 1703, Fr. Pedro felt strong enough to go to Hsia-mén, Fu-chien Province, to buy a house and ground in the neighboring city of Chang-chou, at present called Lung-ch'i. He intended to establish a station there, particularly suitable for its easy and direct communications with Manila, and a monastery of the Poor Clares. After six months of delicate and tactful negotiations, he succeeded at last in acquiring a house and adapting it for a church.⁴¹ This was to be his last foundation and his pious

38. *Ibid.*, p. 319: "En el despacho pasado de enero vinieron 600 pesos que pertenecen a una limosna que dexo para hazer una buena yglesia el capitán general. Compose una buena casa, en buena ciudad, con muchas comodidades para el consuelo y comunicacion de los religiosos, y despues se formara una buena yglesia."

39. TARÍN's letter of 25 April 1700 (*VAN DEN WYNGAERT, Sinica*, vol. 4, pp. 189-192; *MAAS, Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 127-129).

40. In his report of 10 May 1700, PIÑUELA replied to BENAVENTE thus: "Señor, quando yo entre en el oficio de comissario, essa yglesia de Kancheu y otras estaban tomadas, y yo no tengo autoridad ni para trocarlas ni para deixarlas ni para venderlas." (*VAN DEN WYNGAERT, Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 351; *MAAS, Cartas*, ser. 2, p. 76). For his stay in Nan-ching and Kuang-chou, see his letter of 25 April 1703 in *VAN DEN WYNGAERT*, vol. 4, p. 362.

41. In a letter dated Emuy (= Amoy = Hsia-mén), 1 December 1703, PIÑUELA reported: "Ha seis meses que estoy por estos parajes bajos. La causa es para tomar una casa cerca de este puerto de Emuy, que es de do ban los barcos a Manila. Quasi 20 años son que se trato de esto, y aunque la mission en algunas ocasiones puso esfuerzo, no lo pudo conseguir. Ya con la ayuda de Dios, tenemos andado lo mas del negocio, y tengo ajustada la casa, aunque no estoy en posesion; en breve se conseguira, y no sin pocos afanes y trabajos y pesadumbres. Dios lo reciba." (*VAN DEN WYNGAERT, Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 368, 369).

grave when death caught him with his hands on the plough on 30 July 1704 at the age of fifty-four, twenty-eight of which he had spent in the missions.⁴²

AUTHOR

Fr. Pedro's missionary life was remarkably full. Realizing that in a country like China books were often more efficacious and far-reaching than foreign missionaries and their native catechists, he devoted his spare time to the compilation of several apologetic and ascetic works in a clear, fluid, and fascinating style.

Fortunately, all his books are extant. However, since they are sometimes variously and incorrectly listed in the leading bibliographies, it seems worthwhile to draw a complete and annotated bibliographical list that gives the various titles in the original tongue, thus eliminating, once and forever, inaccuracy and confusion. Such a compilation, based mostly on Chinese sources, will also serve to identify the Chinese names of some missionaries hitherto either unknown or disputed.

The surest guide to Fr. Pedro's bibliography is a list of eleven entries appended to the autobiographical sketch contained in his *Catalogus*. For the sake of clarity, the various entries will be listed below in the same order as they appear in the said sketch, giving the book's title—in Chinese, transliteration and translation—, editions, deposits, and references.

42. HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, supplies the following details on his death: "Este infatigable operario evangélico y perfecto religioso falleció el día 30 de julio de 1704, a los 54 de su edad, y 28 de apostólico ministerio, con gran sentimiento de sus convertidos y hermanos religiosos, quienes le dieron honorífica sepultura en la iglesia de la ciudad de Chan-Cheu, que él mismo había fundado, dedicándole el siguiente

E P I T A F I O

R. P. FR. PETRI PIÑUELA

NATIONE HISPANI, PATRIA MEXICANI, PROFESSIONE MINORITAE:
POST DIUTURNAM VINIAE SINENSIS CULTURAM,
IN QUA OPERE, VERBO, SCRIPTOQUE PLURIMUM LABORAVIT,
ANNO DÑI. M.D.CC.IV. TERTIO CALENDAS AUGUSTI,
AETATIS SUAE LIV. MISSIONIS AUTEM XXVIII.
CHAN-CHEU VITA FUNCTI,
HIC OSSA JACENT."

1. 初會問答

Ch'u hui wén-ta

(Preliminary conversation)

by 石鐸璵 振鐸 *SHIH To-lu, Chen-to* (Fr. Pedro de la PIÑUELA, O.F.M.). Author's preface dated 1680.

First edition revised by 卞方濟 *PIEN Fang-chi* (Fr. Francisco PERIS, O.F.M.), 利安定 *LI An-ting* (Fr. Agustín of St. Pascal, O.F.M.), and 華德美 *HUA Tè-mei* (Fr. Miguel FLORES, O.F.M.), and authorized by the Provincial Commissary, 文度辣 *W'EN To-la* (Fr. Buenaventura IBÁÑEZ, O.F.M.). Imprint, n.p., n.d. [Kuang-chou, 1686].⁴³ Folios 3-1-37; 9 lines per page, and 20 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouveaux Fonds 3319.

Reference: Maurice COURANT, *Catalogue des livres chinois, coréens, japonais, etc.* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902-1912), nro 7016.—VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 261, entry 1; PIÑUELA in his "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 329, lists it as *Controversia de lege Dei cum gentilibus*.—Robert SIREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vol. 5, p. 864, nro 2442, lists it twice as entries 3 and 6.—Marcellino [RANISE] of Civezza, *Saggio*, p. 462, lists it also twice (3rd entry as manuscript; 5th entry as imprint published in "Canton, 1703").

Contents: This lovely book is an exposition of Catholic doctrine in the form of a dialogue between a missionary and a visitor at their first meeting. It deals with such problems as the ineffable nature of God and His oneness; heaven's impotence of creating men and making them happy; the nature of angels and demons; the immortality of the human soul; man's duty of adoring the Lord and observing His commandments; the falsities of

43. HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, refers to it as "3º. Diálogo en idioma chino, entre un ministro evangélico y un letrado chino, año de 1686, a cuya primera lectura se convertieron ciento una personas." PIÑUELA undoubtedly refers to this book and edition in a letter dated Nan-an, 10 November 1687, to Fr. Francisco de Santa Inés, thus: "Ya sabe V. C. soi amigo de comunicar noticias, las que yo he alcansado con la experiencia de estos poco años que aqui estoy andando con estos gentiles y aun cristianos en la preguntas dogmáticas, resumido todo ba con esse breve tratado, que puede ser sea útil no solo a esta misión, sino tambien a las de Japon y Tumquin." VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 308.

Buddhism, of the transmigration of souls, and divination; the reason why the western scholars (missionaries) come here, and their true doctrine; steps to embracing their religion and means to prevent falling into sins.

The book consists of thirteen short chapters, and is written in a forcible style. It was an inspiration and source to several other books of this type. A close study along this line would certainly reveal interesting details.

Second edition, revised by 林養默 LIN Yang-mo (Fr. Jaime TARÍN, O.F.M.) and LI An-ting (Fr. Agustín of St. Pascal), authorized by the then Provincial Commissary, 恩懋修 EN Mou-hsiu (Fr. José NAVARRO, O.F.M.), who held the office from 1696 to 1699. Thus, this edition appeared during this period.

Deposit: Paris, B.N., COURANT, 7014, 7015; Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Raccolta generale or. III, 285.9-11 (three copies).

Third edition authorized in 1822 by 光方濟各 KUANG Fang-chi-ko (Most Rev. Francisco de Nossa Senhora da Luz CHACIM, O.F.M., Bishop of Macau and Administrator of Nanching).⁴⁴

Deposit. New York City, the New York Public Library, *OVM, p.v.5, nro 6; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Chinese 592, e.

Other editions; Hongkong (Hsiang-kang): Nazareth, 1903, 12°, ff. 1-33 Hongkong, 1928, 12°, pp. 58; Pei-ching: Pei-t'ang, n.d., 8°, ff. 3-1-37; Pei-ching: Pei-t'ang, 1926, 8°, pp. 28; Ch'ung-ch'ing, n.d., 12°, ff. 2-43.

Reference: General catalogue of Chinese Catholic books (Hongkong: Catholic Truth Society, 1941), p. 39.—STREIT, Bibliotheca, vol. 5, p. 864.

2. 默想神功

Mo-hsiang shén kung

(The pious exercise of meditation)

According to the Author's preface, the book was already finished in 1694.

44. For more information about this prelate, see Manuel TEIXEIRA, *Macau e a sua diocese* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1940), vol. 2, pp. 325-360; Joseph de MONTREY S. L. *La hiérarchie catholique en Chine, en Corée et au Japon* (Chang-

First edition, revised by 恩懋修 明德 *EN Mou-hsiu, Ming-tê* (Fr. J. NAVARRO), 利安定 惟止 *LI An-ting, Wei-chih* (Fr. Agustín of St. Pascal), and 麥學寧 止文 *MAI Ning-hsiieh, Chih-wén* (Fr. Bernardino MERCADO, O.F.M.), and authorized by the Provincial Commissary 林養默 道微 *LIN Yang-mo, Tao-wei* (Fr. J. TARÍN), who held the office from 1690 to 1696. Imprint, n.p., n.d. Folios 2-1-51; 9 lines per page, and 20 characters per line.

Deposit: Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Raccolta generale orientale III, 285-5; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (COURANT, 7335, 7336, 7337, 7338).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 261, entry 2; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 329, lists it as *Exercitium orationis ex sancto Petro de Alcantara, cum additionibus*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, lists it twice (2nd and 8th entries), and once more in vol. 7, nro 3991, by its romanized title.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, refers to it as if it were first published in 1703, which is definitely wrong.

Second edition, appeared in Chi-nan-fu, Shan-tung: *Pu Ju ai-ching shih-tzü-chia hui* (Society of the Lovers of the Cross complementing Confucianism), 1699.

Deposit: Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Racc. gen. orient. III, 248-16.

A third edition was arranged and annotated in two parts by a Chinese scholar, 吳宿 *WU Su*, and published by Nan-ch'ang's *T'ien-chu-t'ang* (Catholic Mission). Folios 2-1-41, 1-59.

Deposit: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Borgia Cinese 355.4.

A fourth edition was authorized by Bishop Francisco CHACIM, O.F.M.; n.p., n.d., 24°, folios 2-11-1-56.

Deposit: New York City, The New York Public Library, *OVM.

For other reprints in T'u-shan-wan in 1875 and 1917, see STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864; for reprints in Hongkong:

Nazareth, 1928, and Pei-ching: Pei-t'ang, 1928, see *General catalogue* (Hongkong: C.T.S., 1941), p. 154.

Contents: This book, as indicated by Piñuela, is a translation and adaptation of St. Pedro of Alcántara's *La oración y meditación*, with some additions.

3. 永暫定衡

Yung chan ting héng

(Evaluation of things eternal and temporal)

The preface by *HAN Chiin* and the introduction by the Author are both dated 1696. Edition revised by 柯若瑟亦臨 *K'O Jo-se I-lin* (Fr. José OSCA, O.F.M.), Fr. TARÍN, and Fr. MERCADO, and authorized by Fr. NAVARRO, Provincial Commissary from 1696 to 1699. Imprint. Kuang-chou: Fu-yin-t'ang, n.d. Folios 4-5-1-29; 9 lines per page, and 20 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7030, 7031, 7032).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 26, entry 3; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, lists as *Differentia inter temporale et aeternum*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 5.

4. 大赦解略

Ta-shé chieh-lüeh

(Short explanation of the Indulgences)

Preface by 劉凝 *LIU Ning*, a scholar from Nan-fêng, dated Ch'ung-i, 13 October 1689. Imprint, n.p., n.d., ff. 11, plus an appendix entitled 聖方濟各聖索會大赦規條 *Shéng Fang-chi-ko shèng so hui ta-shé kuei-t'iao* (Norms for gaining the Indulgences of the Confraternity of the Cordon of Saint Francis), ff. 4; 9 lines per page, and 20 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7275-I, II, III).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 261, entries

4, 5, 6; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, refers to as *Brevis explicatio indulgentiarum*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 8.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, entry 8. Marcellino [RANISE], *Saggio*, p. 462, entry 8.

5. 哀矜鍊靈說

Ai-ching lien-ling shuo

(Pity for the souls in Purgatory)

Edition revised by Fathers OSCA and MERCADO, and authorized by Fr. NAVARRO, Provincial Commissary. Imprint, n.p., n.d., ff. 1-8; 9 lines per page, and 18 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT 7033, 7034).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 262, entry 7; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330 lists it as *De pietate ac devotione animarum Purgatorii*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 1.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, entry 10.—Marcellino [RANISE], *Saggio*, p. 462, entry 10.

Other editions are preserved in: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7035); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Borgia Cinese 350.29.

A fourth edition was published at T'u-shan-wan in 1925, 1 vol. in 24°, pp. 17 (see *General catalogue of Chinese books*, p. 58).

6. 聽彌撒凡例

T'ing Mi-sa fan-li

(Method of attending Mass)

Edition revised by Fathers OSCA and MERCADO, and authorized by Fr. NAVARRO. Imprint, n.p., n.d., ff. 11; 9 lines per page, and 18 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7424, 7425), Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Raccolta gen. orient. III, 249.3, 285.6.

45. VAN DEN WYNGAERT lists "5. To seu kou la ta che [Po-ssu-ku-la ta-shé 博俟古臘大赦]. Indulgentia portiunculae. 6. Cheng fan tsí ko cheng sa [misprint for so] hocí ta che koei thiao. Conditiones pro lucranda indulgentia confraternitatis cinguli S. Francisci" as if they were two separate works, whereas the former runs from folio 8 to 11 and the latter forms a supplement of 4 folios.

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 262, entry 8; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, lists it as *Modus, seu exercitium fructuose ac devote Missae interessendi*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 6.—Both HUERTA and Marcellino [RANISE] fail to list it.

7. 聖教啓蒙指要

Shêng-chiao ch'i-mêng chih-yao

(Compendium of religious instruction)

Imprint, 7 ff.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7420).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 262, entry 9; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, lists it as *Doctrina de catechismo, confessione et communione, per interrogationes digesta, cum aliquibus orationibus ac virtutum exercitijs*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 9.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, entry 11.—Marcellino [RANISE], *Saggio*, p. 462, 11th.

8. 本草補

Pen-ts'ao pu

(Supplement to *Pen-ts'ao* [Materia medica])

Preface by LIU Ning from Nan-fêng, Chiang-hsi, dated 1697.
Imprint.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 5332).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 262, entry 10; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, enters it as *Virtutes aliquarum herbarum et lapidorum*.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 13.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, entry 12.

In his Catalogue, COURANT says: "Par Chi To-lou Tchen-to, occidental; l'auteur est vraisemblablement un Franciscain, mais son nome européen est ignoré." Fortunately, his name is not unknown any more: it is PIÑUELA.

This is, indeed, a precious book worth studying, all the more that, according to information kindly given me by Mr. WANG

Chung-min, National Library of Pei-p'ing, the copy preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale is possibly the only extant one.

9. 聖方濟各第三會會規

Shéng Fang-chi-ko ti san hui hui-kuei

(Rule of the Third Order of Saint Francis)

Manuscript, ff. 22.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. (COURANT, 7446).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 262, entry 11; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330 lists it as *Regula tertii ordinis S.P.N. Francisci*, nondum typis mandata.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 864, entry 10.—HUERTA, *Estado*, p. 526, 13th.—Marcellino [RANISE], *Saggio*, p. 463, 13th.

10. *Arte de la Lengva Mandarina compuesto por el M. R°. P°. fr. Francisco Varo de la sagrada Orden de N.P.S. Domingo acrecentado, y reducido a mejor forma, por N°. H°. fr. Pedro de la Piñuela Por. y Comissario Prov. de la Mission Serafica de China. Añadiose un Confesionario muy vtil, y provechoso para alivio de los mueos Ministros. Impreso en Canton año de 1703.*

1 p. l., 91 (actually 99) pp., 18x27 cm.

The last ten folios contain: "Brevis Methodvs confessionis institvendae. Non solum Confessarijs, ad linguam erudiendam utilis; sed & necessaria; praeſertim noviter intrantibus; ut eo citius Poenitenciae Sacramentum administrare possint. Composita a R°. P. Basilio à Glemona [Gemona] Vicario Apostolico Provinciae Xēn si, Ord. Min. Refor."

This grammar was finished by Fr. VARO on 18 February 1682, whereafter it circulated among the missionaries in manuscript form. Finally, Fr. Pedro de la PIÑUELA re-arranged it, added it to the *Confesionario* compiled by Fr. Basilio BROLLO of Gemona, O.F.M., and had it xylographed by Fr. Placyd WALCZAK, O.F.M., known in contemporary literature as Placidus de Valcio.⁴⁶ It was

46. See PIÑUELA's letter of 25 April and 1 December 1703 (VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 363, 369).



the first, and, for long time, the best grammar published in western idiom.

Reference: Henri CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904-1924, 5 vols.), vol. 3, col. 1651-1658.—STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 5, p. 853, p. 864, entry 12.—VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4., p. 262, entry 12; PIÑUELA, "Catalogus", *ibid.*, p. 330, enters it as *Ars discendi Sinicum idioma, hispanice elaborata*.—C. R. BOXER, "Some Sino-European xylographic works, 1662-1718," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (December 1947, pp. 199-215), 206.

A second edition was printed in 1790 out of the original blocks. The date of this second edition is given on page 77. In this edition, the *Confesonario* is omitted, and, therefore, it is not announced on the titlepage. In its place, the editor compiled and had engraved nine new folios. A copy of this extremely rare edition is preserved in The Hispanic Society of America Library, New York City.

Regarding the first edition of these works, it may be here recalled that eight of the ten afore-mentioned books had been published before the year 1700, as it is evidenced by the fact that PIÑUELA stated in his "Catalogus", which was published in 1700, that he "in lucem edidit" or published them. As for the ninth work, he stated that it was not yet published. By listing *Arte de la Lengva Mandarina* as the tenth entry, he also implied that this work was then unpublished.

ENTRIES NOT INCLUDED IN FR. PEDRO'S OWN LIST

11. 聖母花冠經

Shéng Mu hua-kuan ching

(Chaplet in honor of the Blessed Mother)

Imprint, n.p., n.d., 3 ff.; 7 lines per page, and 16 characters per line. It is a translation of the Chaplet in honor of the Blessed Mother attributed to St. John of Capistrano.

Deposit: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (COURANT, 7422, 7423).

Reference: VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 263 entry 13.

12. *Catalogus religiosorum S.P.N.S.Francisci, qui Sinarum imperium ad Iesu-Christi Evangelium praedicandum ingressi sunt ab anno 1579 usque in 1700 annum, quo edit in lucem. A.R.A. M.P.F. Petro de la Piñuela. Discalceatorum Seraphicae Minorum familiae apostolicae Sinarum praedicatore regno. Evangelicoque ministro. Nunc tandem Commissarii Provincialis metropoli Cantonis provinciae munere fungente. Superiorum permisu. Apud Joannem Guillena Carrascoso. Anno 1700.*

Reference: STREIT, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 7, nro 2038; VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 259, entry 31.

This catalogue contains fifty-two biographical sketches of Franciscan missionaries who labored in China from 1579 to 1700. It is fairly complete and very important for mission history. It had been reprinted by Lorenzo PÉREZ in *Archivo Ibero-American* (vol. 8, 1917, pp. 280-296) and by VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4, pp. 322-336.

13. Letters and reports. MAAS, *Cartas*, ser. 2, pp. 29-92, published fully or in part twenty-two of them from the original or from copies. PÉREZ, *Origen de las misiones franciscanas en la provincia de Kwang-tung* (reprint; Madrid, 1918), quoted some of them, and on page 199-200, note 4, stated that thirty original letters were preserved in the Franciscan Archive of Pastrana. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 4 pp. 264-372, published or condensed twenty-seven letters and reports, the "Catalogus" included. Unfortunately, no text had been published faithfully to the letter. Each editor took the liberty to make slight changes, particularly in spelling certain words. The variants are many but usually inconsequential, except for the spelling of personal and geographical names. A diplomatic edition would have been desirable and entirely satisfactory.

Beside these works, VAN DEN WYNGAERT attributes to PIÑUELA the following booklet in Chinese: "Tsiang ling cheng choei oen ta. De usu aquae benedictae. Cf. Courant, *Catalogue*, 163." First, this work is not listed on page 163; second, it is listed on

page 148, nro 7374-XVII, and p. 156, nro 7408-III, but with no indication of authorship whatever (*Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 263, entry 14). VAN DEN WYNGAERT accredits PIÑUELA with another work in Chinese: "Se la fei ko cheng fou fang tsi ko hing chi ta tshuen. Vita seraphici patris S. Francisci. Canton 1727." (*Sinica*, vol. 4, p. 263, entry 15). So far as the printed evidence goes, this book cannot be attributed to PIÑUELA. To dispel all equivocation, here are the references:

聖方濟各行實 *Shēng Fu Fang-chi-ko hsing-shih*

(Life of the Seraphic Father St. Francis)

by 恩若瑟 EN Jo-se (Fr. José NAVARRO, O.F.M.; see his complete Chinese name above). Author's preface undated.

Posthumous edition revised by Vicar Ap. 葉若翰 YEH Jo-han (Fr. Giovanni Battista MAOLETTI, O.F.M.),⁴⁷ Vicar Ap. 梅述聖 MEI Shu-shêng (Bishop Antonio LAGHI, O.F.M.),⁴⁸ and Confrères 景明亮 CHING Ming-liang (Fr. Martín ALEMÁN, O.F.M.),⁴⁹ 王雄善 WANG Hsiung-shan (Fr. Juan FERNÁNDEZ SERRANO, O.F.M.),⁵⁰ 羅銘恩 LO Ming-ên (Fr. Miguel ROCA, O.F.M.), and authorized by the Provincial Commissary 李懷仁 LI Huai-jên (Fr. Francisco de los Santos, O.F.M.).⁵¹ Imprint. Kuang-ch'èng [Kuang-chou]: 揚仁里福音堂 Yang-jên Li Fu-yin-t'ang⁵² [Evan-

47. Antonio S. Rosso, O.F.M., *Apostolic Legations to China of the eighteenth century* (South Pasadena: P. D. and Ione Perkins, 1948), pp. 274-275.

48. *Loco cit.*

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-277.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 275 note 19, 276-277.

51. Fr. Francisco was born in 1684 at Mandayona, diocese of Siguenza, Spain, and professed in the Franciscan Province of St. Joseph on 7 November 1712. In 1725, he went from Manila to China as Provincial Commissary, and worked there until his return to Spain in 1737. He died in Madrid on 28 February 1742. GÓMEZ PLATERO, *Catálogo*, p. 407.

52. *Yang-jên*, which in contemporary literature is sometimes spelled *iang jin*, is the name of the alley or rather city block (*li*) in the extramural section of Kuang-chou where one of the Franciscan churches was located, and it does not possibly mean "foreigner" (*Extraneus*), as translated by VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica*, vol. 3, p. 784 note 1. The compound *yang-jen* meaning "foreigner" is its homophone, but not its Chinese homograph.—It is interesting to note that the expression *Fu-yin-t'ang* "Evangelical church", now designating a Protestant church

gelical Church on Spread-benevolence Lane], 1727, 3 vols. Vol. 1, folios 8-2-61; vol. 2, folios 3-78; vol. 3, folios 3-86; 9 lines per page and 20 characters per line.

Deposit: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. fonds 2792, 4766; Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Raccolta gen. or. III, 249.4.

Reference: COURANT, Catalogue, nro 6780, 6781 (listed by its longer title).—Paul PELLION, “Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane”, p. 106.—STREIT, Bibliotheca, vol. 5, nro 2771, entry 2.—HUERTA, Estado, p. 529.—Marcellino [RANISE], Saggio, nro 445, and p. 93, entry 28.—GÓMEZ PLATERO, Catálogo, p. 326.

Antonio Sisto Rosso, O.F.M.

*The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.*

—o—

or mission compound, was at the time and earlier used to denote a Catholic church or mission. It seems that this expression originated about the end of the seventeenth century with the Franciscans stationed in Kuang-tung who favored the Rites and preferred to avoid the use of the controverted expression *T'ien-chu-t'ang* “Heavenly Lord's church”.

REMIGIUS – NEMESIUS

IN PREPARING the text of a newly-discovered *Liber de anima* of William Vorillon, O.F.M. (+1463), which will be published in the next two issues of *Mediaeval Studies*, I was confronted on several occasions with the enigmatic figure of a certain Remigius. He had been quoted earlier by most of the great schoolmen of the thirteenth century, but his identification has puzzled mediaevalists for many years. However, I believe we are now in a position to offer a solution: that *Remigius* is but a misreading, a misnomer, for *Nemesius*, the fifth-century Bishop of Emesa and author of the *De natura hominis*.¹

How this variant crept into the Scholastic texts, and how, indeed, some early Scholastic knew that this work belonged to Nemesius, I am not prepared to say.² This Note, therefore, will not be a complete solution to the problem, but will be limited to the mediaeval references to Remigius, previous attempts at solution, and my own proposal, with some provisory conclusions.

1. Cf. B. Geyer, *F. Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin, 1928), II, 120-121; É. Amann, art. "Némésius d'Emèse," *DTC*, XI, 62-67; É. Gilson-P. Boehner, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie* (Paderborn, 1937), 109-123.

2. The *De natura hominis* was ascribed to Saint Gregory of Nyssa as early as the eighth century, in the Armenian version (É. Amann, *art. cit.*, 65). It was translated into Latin by Alfano of Salerno (+1085), who ascribed it to Nemesius, according to Amann (*loc. cit.*, 66); later by Burgundio of Pisa (c. 1159), who published it under the name of Gregory of Nyssa. Both editions have been published by C. Burkhard: *Nemesii episcopi Premon Physicon sive ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ Liber a N. Alfano Archiepiscopo Salerni in Latinum translatus: recognovit Carolus Burkhard* (Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri MCMXVII); and: *Gregorii Nysseni (Nemesii Emeseni) ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ Liber a Burgundione in Latinum translatus. Nunc primum ex libris manu scriptis edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Carolus Im. Burkhard* (Vindobonae, Impensis Gymnasii Caes-Reg. Meidling., 1891-1902).

I. REMIGIUS: THE MEDIAEVAL DATA

In the tract on the human soul in the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, composed within the lifetime of Alexander of Hales and John of Rupella (both of whom died in 1245), it is stated that Remigius has authored a *Liber de Anima*.³ In this work, apparently, is to be found a definition of the soul quoted by Philip the Chancellor, Rupella, Saint Albert the Great, Pseudo-Bonaventure (Marchesinus de Regio), and William Vorillon: *Anima est substantia incorporea regens corpus*.⁴ The author, or rather the compilator, of the tract in the *Summa* attributed to Alexander, also indicates that this *Liber de Anima* contains a teaching in agreement with Saint John Damascene: that the interior cognitive senses are located each in a different part of the brain:

In idem consentit Remigius, in libro *De anima*, distinguendo
has vires, ostendens diversas aegritudines in quibus hae laeduntur.
Restat ergo quod unaquaque harum organum vel partem habet
sibi determinatam in qua operatur.⁵

Again, both the *Summa* and Saint Bonaventure cite Remigius, together with Aristotle, Augustine, and the *Sancti*, for the teaching that man is the center or end of all other things.⁶

Many of the Scholastics also attribute to Remigius two defi-

3. *Summa theol.* I-II, n. 359, tom. II, 436a.

4. Cf. *Ex summa Philippi Cancellarii quaestiones de anima*, ed. Leo W. Keeler S. I. (Opuscula et Textus, series schol. XX) (Münster, 1937), p. 20, line 1; Rupella, *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*, p. I (in Dom O. Lottin, "Les traités sur l'âme et les vertus de Jean de la Rochelle," RNP, XXXII (1930), p. 12); and Rupella, *Summa de anima*, p. I, c. iv (ed. T. Domenichelli), 109-110; Saint Albert, *Summa de Creaturis* II, q. 2, art. 1, (ed. Borgnet) XXXV, 10a; and his *Summa theol.* II, tr. 12, q. 69, n. 1, XXXIII, 7; Pseudo-Albert, *Isagoge in Libros de anima*, c. 1, V, 507a; Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Centiloquium*, p. III, sectio xix, (ed. Vivès) VII, 390b; William of Vorillon, *Liber de anima*, II, c. ii, Bibl. Nat. latin 16585, 10ra.—On the *Centiloquium*, cf. *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae* (Quaracchi ed.), X, 20b.

5. *Summa theol.* I-II, n. 359, II, 436a.

6. *Summa theol.* I-II, n. 104, II, 131a: Philosophus et Remigius et fere omnes Sancti volunt quod quaecumque sunt, sint propter hominem.—Saint Bonaventure, *II Sent.*, d. 1, p. 2, a. 2, q. 2, II, 46a: Unde Remigius dicit et Philosophus, quod nos sumus finis quodammodo omnium quae sunt.

nitions: passion and envy. Thus, Saint Thomas among others writes: *Remigius dicit quod passio est motus animae per susceptionem boni aut mali.*⁷ To this definition must also be added the remark of the *Summa Alexandri* on the distinction between *passio* and *delectatio*:

Unde de delectatione, quae est terminus passionis delectabilis, loquitur Remigius, cum dicit quod delectatio est actus sine motu: passio enim cum motu est; unde delectatio illa non est passio, sed potius passionis terminus.⁸

So, too, the *Summa Alexandri*, Saint Albert, and Pseudo-Bonaventure quote the definition of envy. Saint Albert cites it thus: *Remigius sic definit eam: Invidia est dolor de bono alieno.*⁹

Finally, the newly published volume of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander contains two additional references to Remigius:

Beda et Remigius: Quid mirum tremere homines, cum aspectu iudicii tremant angelicae potestates?

and:

Similiter testificatio erit ministerium eorum (scil. angelorum), quia testes erunt, sicut dicit Remigius.¹⁰

To my knowledge, these are the only *loci* in which Remigius

7. *III Sent.*, d. 15, q. 2, a. 2, quaestiunc. 3, (ed. Vivès) IX, 237b; ed. M. F. Moos, O. P. (Paris, 1933), 485. This definition had been cited previously in slightly different form by Rupella, *Summa de anima*, I, xlvi, *ed. cit.*, 191: *Passio est motus irrationalis partis animae per suspicionem boni vel mali;* repeated by the *Summa* of Alexander, p. III, n. 37, tome IV, 58; and by William Vorillon, *Liber de anima*, II, xiv, *ms. cit.*, 19vb.

8. *Summa theol.* II-II, n. 561, III, 554.

9. *Summa theologiae* II, tr. 18, q. 117, m. 1, a. 1, XXXIII, 359a; taken from (?) the *Summa* of Alexander, II-II, n. 531, III, 523a. Cf. Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Centiloquium*, p. I, sect. xix, *loc. cit.*, 362a. John of Rupella has a slightly varied wording: *Invidia est tristitia in alienis bonis (op. cit., II, xiii, 237)*, as authority for which he does not cite Remigius, but rightly Saint John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa*, II, xiv, P. G., 94, 931; Vorillon, *op. cit.*, III, vi, fol. 25va, follows Rupella, who is one of his prime sources, and ascribes it to Damascene.

10. *Summa theol.* III, n. 212, tome IV, 297b; and n. 222, 308.

appears.¹¹ No doubt, they are repeated in other works or in lesser Scholastics (e. g., Dionysius the Carthusian); I have not tried to compile an exhaustive list.

II. PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AT SOLUTION

Editors of Scholastic texts have repeatedly admitted failure in identifying Remigius, or in locating his *Liber de Anima*. At most, they will tentatively and hesitatingly advance Remi of Auxerre (+ c. 908).

Quis sit laudatus Remigius indagare non potuimus, remark the Quaracchi editors of Saint Bonaventure. No Latin author by that name has written a *Liber de Anima*, nor have they found the citations in any more ancient works on the soul; e. g., Honorius of Autun, etc.¹² In 1906, Professor A. Schneider identified him, without further investigation, with Remi of Auxerre.¹³

Later, Father Alban Heysse and his collaborators in the edition of the first three volumes of Alexander of Hales proceeded more cautiously, referring the reader to the foregoing note in the *Sentences* of Saint Bonaventure, and to Professor Schneider, without further commitment.¹⁴

Finally, the present director of the Commission for Alexander of Hales, Father Victorin Doucet, devoted a paragraph to Remigius in the extremely important and epoch-making *Prolegomena* to the newly published fourth volume, listing Remigius among the Scholastic sources of the *Summa*, but also confessing that he was *adhuc ignotus*.¹⁵ However, he actually furnishes

11. Cf. Fr. V. Doucet, *Prolegomena* to tome IV of the *Summa theol.* of Alexander, p. XCVII, n. 14, in regard to the Cod. Avranches 232, which quotes Remigius' *Liber de anima* as though it were a commentary on Aristotle.

12. *Opera omnia S. Bonaventurae*, tome II (1885), p. 46, n. 1.

13. *Die Psychologie Alberts des Grossen* (BGPTMA, IV, 6), 366, 372, 534. In this he is followed by Prof. A. C. Pegis, *St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1934), 84-85. Fr. Leo Keeler, S. J., gives this identification with some hesitancy: Refert (Philippus) definitionem animae cuiusdam Remigii (Altissiodorensis?) (*op. cit.*, 12, n. 2).

14. *Summa theol.*, tome II, 131, n. 3; p. 436, n. 5: Opus adhuc ignotum (i. e., the *Liber de anima*); and tome III, 523, n. 6: Huius (Remigii) opera, saepius a Scholasticis allata, hucusque desiderantur.

15. *Prolegomena*, tome IV, p. XCIIa, text and note 1.

the clue to the identity of Remigius when he notes that the definition of *passio* is to be found in Saint John Damascene.¹⁶ On consulting the Migne edition of the *De fide orthodoxa*, I found a footnote indicating the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius as the source of the definition.¹⁷ This evoked the question: could *Remigius* actually be nothing more than a corruption of *Nemesius*? We shall present the facts as discovered, and show that in practically every instance a parallel can be made between Remigius and Nemesius.

III. THE IDENTITY

a) *Liber de Anima*. There is no particular difficulty in the ascription to Remigius of a *Liber de Anima*. Nemesius is the author of a work which is almost a *Liber de Anima*. In fact, an excerpt found among the works of Saint Gregory of Nyssa is entitled, *De anima*, and is merely a summary of Chapters II and III of the *De natura hominis*.¹⁸

b) *Definition of the soul*. The most frequent reference to Remigius is, perhaps, his definition of the soul. This, it seems, cannot be found as such in the work of Nemesius. The definition usually cited is closer to that of Alcher of Clairvaux in the *De spiritu et anima: Anima est substantia quaedam rationis particeps, regendo corpori accommodata*.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the definition quoted from Remigius has, I believe, been pieced together from the *De natura hominis*. Thus, in the translation of Burgundio:

Non potest igitur secundum ullum modum entelechia corporis esse, sed *substantia autotelis id est per se perfecta incorporea*.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, p. CXXVIII: Locus non inventus, nisi apud Damascenum.

17. *Op. cit.*, II, xxii, P. G., 94, 939. I have since discovered that Father M. F. Moos, O. P., had traced the definition through Saint Thomas to Damascene: Locum Remigii non contigit, sed in I-II, q. 22, a. 3, sed contra, haec definitio recitatur sub nomine Damasceni apud quem de facto reperitur (*S. Thomae Aq. Scriptum super Sententias*, tome III, p. 485, n. 9).

18. P. G. 45, 187-222.

19. *De spiritu et anima*, c. 1, P. L. 40, 781; cf. S. Augustine, *De quantitate animae*, xiii, 22, P. L. 32, 1048.

20. Ed. Burkhard, c. 2, p. 37; in the Alfano translation, p. 39: Substantia incorporea, suimet expletiva; and P. G. 40, 565.

The second part of the Remigian definition, *regens corpus*, is to be found in an earlier remark in the same chapter.²¹ Since the earliest known citation of the definition is that of Philip the Chancellor, it is possible that he composed it from the *De natura hominis*.

c) *Divisions of the brain.* A much stronger proof of the identity of Remigius and Nemesius, and of the *De natura hominis* with the so-called *Liber de Anima*, can be drawn from the doctrine of the parts of the brain. Alexander had remarked that the *Liber de Anima* of Remigius had agreed with the doctrine of Damascene on this problem. A study of the later chapters of Nemesius will show not only such agreement on the interior senses and the corresponding parts of the brain, but also that John Damascene derived his doctrine from Nemesius. According to the latter, followed by Damascene and the *Summa Minorum*, the imaginative power is located in the anterior ventricle of the brain;²² the cogitative, in the middle section;²³ and the sense-memory, in the posterior ventricle.²⁴

d) *Man, the center of creation.* Following Saint Gregory of Nyssa,²⁵ Nemesius begins his work by situating man in the cosmos as the mediator between the material world and the purely spiritual world. In the development of this thought, he points out that the Hebrews (e. g., Psalm VIII) had taught that man was, as a result of the action of Divine Providence, the center and goal of all that was made. This is certainly the passage to which the *Summa* and Saint Bonaventure refer; in the translation of Burgundio:

Hebraicum vero dogma est omnia haec propter hominem facta
esse et proxime quidem propter eum, puta ea quae dorso ferunt

21. P. G., loc. cit., 552-553: 'Η μὲν ψυχὴ καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τῷ σώματι καὶ τὸν ἀρχικὸν ἐπέχει λόγον, ὅτε αὐτοῦ ἀρχουσα.

Cf. also the fragment *De anima*, P. G. 45, 218B: Ipsa corpus arcit et regit.

22. *De natura hominis*, c. 6, P. G. 40, 633; Burgundio, c. 5, p. 61; Alfano, c. 6, p. 73.

23. *Ibid.*, c. 12, col. 660; Burgundio, c. 11, p. 72; Alfano, c. 12, p. 87.

24. *Ibid.*, c. 13, col. 664; Burgundio, c. 12, p. 73; Alfano, c. 13, p. 89.

25. *De hominis opificio*, c. 2 ff, P. G. 44, 131 ff.

et boves qui ad agriculturam, fenum autem propter haec. . . . Concluditur propter hunc (hominem) et irrationalia et inanimata facta esse.²⁶

e) *Two definitions.* The definitions of passion and envy, cited as of Remigius, need not delay us, since they are to be found verbatim in the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius.²⁷ There is some slight difficulty in regard to the Latin forms. In that of passion, Saint Thomas uses *per susceptionem*, which agrees with Alfano's translation;²⁸ other Scholastics agree more with Burgundio's version.²⁹

Finally, I have not been able to locate in the *De natura hominis* or in the fragmentary *De anima* the two references to the final judgment cited in the third part of the *Summa* of Alexander. In an earlier volume of Alexander and in Saint Thomas, the *testificatio* of the angels is considered the doctrine of Origen, as a Gloss on Matthew 25: 31.³⁰

It might be added that Saint Bonaventure echoes, without citing, the judgment of Nemesius on immortality, when he says that it is a doctrine that would be known with certainty only by a very few if faith did not help us to see the truth.³¹ Nemesius had remarked that while there are most certain reasons for immortality in Plato and others, these reasons are so difficult to know that they are scarcely comprehended even by the philosophers. For the Christian, however, the surest proof is that of Sacred Scripture.³²

26. Burgundio, *ed. cit.*, c. 1, p. 22; P. G. 40, 525; Alfano, 17-18.

27. On passion, cf. Nemesius, *op. cit.*, c. 16, P. G. 40, 673: Πάθος ἔστι κίνησις ἀλογος τῆς ψυχῆς δι' ὑπόληψιν καλοῦ ή κακοῦ. On envy, *ibid.*, c. 19, 683: Φύθοντος δέ, λύτη ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίους ἀγαθοῖς.

28. Alfano, *ed. cit.*, c. 16, p. 94: Passio est irrationalis motus animae per susceptionem boni vel mali.

29. Burgundio, *ed. cit.*, c. 15, p. 76: Passio est irrationalis motus animae propter suspicionem boni vel mali.—The difference between *passio* and *delectatio* (*supra*, n. 8) is found in *De natura hominis*, c. 17, P. G. 40, 685: Οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἐνέργεια κίνησις ἔστιν, etc.

30. Alexander, *Summa* I-II, n. 221, II, 275a; St. Thomas, *Summa theol.* I, 113, 7, arg. 4 and ad 4; cf. his *IV Sent.*, d. 47, q. 1, a. 2, q. 3, 1, (ed. Vivès) XI, 420b.

31. *In Eccles. III*, p. 2, q. 2, c, VI, 37.

32. *De natura hominis*, c. 2, P. G. 40, 590.



The evidence from the foregoing documentation is sufficient, it seems to me, to lead to only one conclusion: that the enigma of Remigius finds its solution in his identity with Nemesius.³³ This does not, however, solve all the difficulties, nor can I pretend I am able to answer them here.

IV. CONCLUSION

That Nemesius influenced the major Scholastics cannot be gainsaid. But his name is unknown, since his *De natura hominis* had been ascribed since the eighth century to Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Thus, to cite a few examples, Saint Albert the Great made frequent reference to *Gregorius Nyssenus*,³⁴ and felt the force of his criticism of the Aristotelian definition of the soul, which he attempts to answer by way of Avicenna.³⁵ Saint Thomas, though quoting the work but rarely, is constantly inspired thereby in his doctrine on man: *Il est incontestable que son texte est sous-jacent à celui de la Somme théologique, I, qq. 75-83, et 116.*³⁶ To what extent Saint Bonaventure used the work remains to be determined.³⁷

33. When I communicated my theory to Fr. Victorin Doucet, he was much inclined to agree with me, though he saw many difficulties that would require explanation. He asked me to submit a Note on the subject to *Franciscan Studies*. He has since appended the following in the *Corrigenda et Addenda* of his *Prolegomena* to the latest volume of the *Summa*: Omnes fere loci communiter allegati sub nomine Remigii "in libro de anima" reperiuntur apud Nemesium, *De natura hominis*; et hinc suspicari saltem licet "Remigium" non esse nisi nomen corruptum "Nemesii". Ex communicatione P. Ignatii Brady, O.F.M., Duns Scotus College, Detroit, U. S. A. (Cf. Tom. IV, p. CCCCXVI).

34. E. g., *Summa theologiae* II, tr. 2, q. 9, XXXII, 140b; tr. 12, q. 70, m. 1, XXXIII, 20b.

35. Nemesius, *op. cit.*, c. 2, P. G. 40, 560-561; St. Albert, *Summa de Creaturis* II, q. 4, a. 1, ad 8, XXXV, 37a. Cf. also É. Gilson, "L'âme raisonnable chez Albert le Grand," AHDLMA, XIV (1943-45), 29 ff and 71-72.

36. É. Amann, *art. cit.*, col. 66; see also the frequent use of *Gregorius Nyssenus* in the *De Veritate*, XXIV, art. 1, 2, 6, and 7; the table of proper names in *The Basic Works of Saint Thomas* (ed. A. C. Pegis, New York, 1945), II, 1175a, under "Nemesius of Emesa", furnishes a long list of references to the *De natura hominis* as used by Saint Thomas.

37. *Ibid.*

But granted this influence, the name of Remigius for Nemesius remains a mystery. However, from the fact that the Scholastics had at hand the text of the *De natura hominis* under the name of Gregory, we may rightly conclude that they did not possess the same treatise, even in a different translation, under the name either of Nemesius or of Remigius; otherwise, they would have noted the identity, and would not have cited the work as a commentary on Aristotle.³⁸ We can, likewise, rule out the hypothesis that the fragment or excerpt known as the *Sermo de Anima* (*supra*, note 18) came to the West under the name of Remigius, since it does not contain all the citations credited to him. A further hypothesis, that there was a real Remigius who had written a *De anima* in which the work of Nemesius had been used or incorporated, seems very unlikely. This would parallel the use William of Saint-Thierry made of the authentic *De hominis opificio* of Gregory of Nyssa in his own *De natura corporis et animae*,³⁹ in which, however, there is no mention of Gregory as the basis of the work! Such a Remigius, moreover, would have to antedate Saint Anselm and Saint Bernard, since he is quoted by name, and, therefore, considered as an *auctor*. He would, thus, have lived before 1150,⁴⁰ in which case we would be hard put to explain the close parallel to, if not identity with, the translation of Burgundio.

As far as I can discover, the earliest reference to Remigius is that of Philip the Chancellor. All attempts to find a reference among eleventh and twelfth century writers have been in vain; William of Conches, the Victorines, Isaac de Stella, Alcher of Clairvaux, William of Saint-Thierry, Abelard, etc., are of no help. The early Scholastics of the thirteenth century, in the texts that have been available to me, William of Auvergne, Gundisalinus, Robert Grosseteste, etc., contain nothing. Perhaps, there-

38. Cf. *supra*, n. 11. Actually, the second chapter of Nemesius is a commentary on the various definitions of the soul offered by the philosophers, and to that extent could have been mistaken for a commentary on the *De anima*.

39. P. L. 180, 695-726. Cf. Dom J-M. Déchanet, O. S. B., *Aux sources de la spiritualité de Guillaume de S-Thierry*; and his *Guillaume de S-Thierry, l'homme et son oeuvre* (Bruges, 1940 ff.).

40. Cf. M-D. Chenu, O. P., "‘Authentica’ et ‘Magistralia’. Deux lieux théologiques aux XII^e-XIII^e siècles," *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza), II (1925), 257-285.

fore, an examination of the full *Summa de bono* of Philip the Chancellor may furnish the key to the problem. With it is certainly linked the intricate problem of the compilation of the *Summa Theologica* attributed to Alexander of Hales. At present, we know so little of the Franciscan house at Paris in the third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century, the men, their sources, and their method of scholastic co-operation, that we must await further researches.⁴¹

The only conclusion we can make at the present time is that someone in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century knew the *De natura hominis*, most likely in Burgundio's translation, as the work of Nemesius, but out of ignorance mistook that unfamiliar name for the common Latin one of Remigius, and drew from his work certain *loci* which then passed to the great Scholastics as the *dicta* of Remigius.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O.F.M.

Duns Scotus College,
Detroit, Michigan.

41. Dom Odon Lottin, O.S.B., of Louvain, who has done considerable work on the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, confesses he is unable to supply a clue (Letter to the writer, May 10, 1948). Cf. his two volumes: *Psychologie et morale aux xii^e-et xiii^e siècles* (Louvain, 1942-1948), for much doctrine on the early Franciscan school.

PETRUS THOMAE ON THE STIGMATA OF ST. FRANCIS

QUESTIONS on the Stigmata of St. Francis are infrequent in the Quodlibets of the 13th and 14th centuries. Only three such questions are known to Glorieux:^a one, written c. 1285, is the work of Roger Marston; another has for its author an anonymous Franciscan of the early 14th century. The third question is from the Quodlibet of Petrus Thomae and was written between 1310 and 1330. The first two questions have long since been edited by Fr. Ephrem Longpré:^b the text of the third, hitherto unedited as far as can be determined, is presented in the following pages in order to complete the trilogy of such questions as had in Glorieux, and to further our knowledge of an author whose writings have been all too little investigated in the past.

In our text, Petrus Thomae attempts to prove that the Stigmata of St. Francis were not, and could not be, produced *modo naturali* nor by any natural agent. He dismisses arguments in favor of a *vehemens imaginatio* working on the mind and body of St. Francis to produce a natural phenomenon, and concludes that the Stigmata could only be produced miraculously through the will of God. For him, Francis is the *miles Christi* and His *vexillarius*, and deserves to wear the armor of his Master. In this respect, Petrus Thomae is using arguments previously employed by St. Bonaventure^c in his *Legenda Major*, and Jacobus de Voragine^d in his *Sermon on the Stigmata*. That Petrus Thomae knew and used this sermon of the famous Dominican seems to be evident from the striking similarity which exists between the two texts.

a. *La littérature quodlibétique*, II, in *Bibliothèque Thomiste*, vol. XXI, Paris 1935, 229, 269, 295.

b. *Fr. Rogeri Marston et anonymi Doctoris O.F.M. quaestiones ineditae de B. Francisci stigmatibus*, in *Antonianum*, Rome 1932, VII, 239-244.

c. *Legenda S. Francisci*, Quaracchi 1898, c. 13, 9-10, VIII, 544.

d. Cf. L. Lemmens, *Testimonia minora saeculi XIII de S. Francisco Assisiensi collecta*, in *Collectanea philosophico-theologica*, III, Quaracchi 1926.

The text which follows has been prepared from the only manuscript of the *Quodlibet* known to exist^e. The spelling has been made to conform with modern usage. References to the Fathers are from Migne's Patrology; references to Avicenna are from the Venice edition of 1520(?). We were unable to identify the "domina Helena" reputed to have been a stigmatic and of whom Petrus Thomae makes mention.

PETRI THOMAE QUAEST. QUODL. 16.

(Vindebon., Nat. Bibl. lat. 1494, f. 102r-103v).

Deinde quaerebantur quantum ad creaturas in generali in speciali aliqua, et primo una quaestio personalis:

UTRUM BEATUS FRANCISCUS POTUIT HABERE STIGMATA PER NATURAM.

Respondeo: In ista quaestione sic procedetur. Primo enim praemitentur aliquae declaraciones; secundo, aliquae conclusiones ex illis elicientur; tertio, aliquae objectiones quorum[dam] amentium excludentur.

[I. DECLARATIONES]

Quantum ad primum primo videndum est quid et quantum possit imaginatio in corpore; secundo, quid possit amoris affectio in corpore; tertio, quid non possit in corpore imaginatio vel affectio.

De primo dico sex. Primum est quod imaginatio potest sensibilium exteriorum sensui particulari praesentium perceptionem tollere. Hoc habetur ab Augustino^a, XI *De trinitate*, c. 8, satis prope finem¹ ubi sic dicit: "Memoriam vero a sensu voluntas avertit, cum in aliud intenta non ei sinit inhaerere² praesentia. Quod animadvertere facile³ est, cum saepe coram loquentem nobis aliquem aliud cogitando non audisse nobis videmur⁴. Falsum est autem: audivimus enim, sed non meminimus." Ad⁵ hoc subjungit ibi multa exempla.

e. Cf. P. Martí de Barcelona, *Fra Pere Tomàs (XIV), Doctor strenuus et invincibilis*, in *Estudis Franciscans*, Barcelona 1927, XXXIX, 100.

1. satis . . .] *mg.*

2. sinit . . .] *corr. in mg.*

3. *corr. in mg.*

4. *mg.*

5. ab *ms.*

a. PL 42, 996.

Secundum dictum est, quod imaginatio potest facere non-praesentia sensui exteriori apprehendendi tamquam praeSENTIA. Unde Augustinus^b, L. XI, c. 4 in principio⁶, sic dicit: "Sed⁷ plurimum differt, utrum sopitis sensibus corporis, sicuti sunt dormientium, aut ab interiori compage turbatis, sicuti sunt furentium, aut alio quodam modo alienatis, sicuti⁸ sunt divinantium, aut prophetantium, animi intentio quadam necessitate incurrat in⁹ eas quae occurrunt imagines," etc. Ibi enim expresse vult Augustinus quod imaginatio potest hoc facere.

Tertium dictum est, quod imaginatio potest facere hominem deorsum cadere de aliquo, de quo alias non caderet nisi esset ipsa imaginatio. Unde Avicenna^c, VI *Naturalium*, P. 4, c. 4: "potest homo ambulare super trabem quae est in media via, sed si pons¹⁰ fuerit super aquam profundam non audet ambulare super eam eo quod imaginatur in [anima] ejus forma cadendi vehementer impressa cui oboedit¹¹ natura ejus et virtus membrorum ejus, et non oboediunt¹² ejus contrario, scilicet ad erigendum¹³ et ambulandum." Haec ille.

Quartum dictum est, quod imaginatio potest facere humorum corporis alterationem ad salutem vel infirmitatem¹⁴. Unde Avicenna Libro, parte, et capitulo praecedentis dicit sic: "attendere oportet¹⁵ dispositionem infirmi cum credit se convalescere aut sani cum credit se aegrotare; multotiens enim contingit ex hoc ut cum euro roboratur, forma in anima ejus patiatur ex ea ipsius materia, et proveniat ex hoc sanitas et infirmitas, et haec est actio efficacior quam quod agit medicus instrumentis¹⁶ suis." Haec iste.

Quintum dictum est, quod imaginatio potest facere seminis decisionem. Hoc patet per Augustinum^d, XI *De trini.*, c. 4 in fine¹⁷, ubi sic dicit: "memini me audisse a quodam, quod tam expressam et quasi solidam speciem feminei corporis in cogitando cernere soleret, ut ei quasi misceri¹⁸ sentiens, etiam genitalibus deflueret¹⁹."

Sextum est, quod imaginatio potest in fetus variam formationem. Hoc patet primo per Scripturam: Gen. XXX, de illis virgis decorticatis quas Jacob ante aspectum ovium ponebat tempore coitus. Hoc idem

6. 4 in . . .] corr. in mg.

8. sicut ms.

10. materia ms.

12. oberit ms.

14. infinitatem ms.

16. in sacris (?) ms.

18. miscitur ms.

b. PL 42, 989.

d. PL 42, 989.

7. interl.

9. interl.

11. aberit ms.

13. exiendum ms.

15. mg.

17. 4 in . . .] corr. in mg.

19. corr. in mg.

c. *De anima*, Venice 1520, f. 20v.

e. Gen. 30, 38.

dicit Augustinus^t, XI *De trini.*, c. 2 in fine. Hoc etiam probari potest per Hieronymum²⁰ in Libro *De hebraicis quaestionibus*^g, ubi sic dicit: "tal is est natura mulierum ut qualem prospexerint vel mente conceperint in extremo voluptatis²¹ aestu quo concipiunt²² talem procreent, necnon et in equarum gregibus apud Hispanias; ita Quintilianus²³ etiam sic excusat [matronam] quae peperit²⁴ Aethiopem de adulterio, asserens hanc esse naturam contrario quam dixi et repertum est tamen domino esse imaginem talis Aethiopis quam contra lectum positam domina²⁵ conspiciebat ardenter in actu conjugali." Haec iste. Hujus autem ratio potest esse quoniam hujusmodi semina propter suam teneritudinem et mollitatem sunt facile mutabilia et impressionum recep-tibia, et ideo quia ipsa imaginatio habet quandam quasi influentiam super omnes vires inferiores, idcirco qualis motio fit in ipsa imaginatione talis impressio fit in ipsis hujusmodi seminibus.

Sed est hic unum valde dubium. Licet enim imaginatio possit facere alterationem et variationem in ipsis sensibus propter fluxibilitatem et mollitatem ipsorum, unde est quod possit fieri per ipsam imaginationem in fetu aliqua alteratio seu variatio? Constat enim quod ipsum semen non statim convertitur in carnem. Constat etiam quod forma seminis per imaginationem variata seu alterata non manet, immo con-vertitur in carnem, ita quod adveniente²⁶ aliqua forma corrumpitur seminis forma. Constat tertio quod actus imaginandi non manet sed transit. Unde ergo est quod per ipsum non manentem possit in fetu aliqua alteratio seu variatio fieri, dubium est. Dicamus quod natura occulte operatur.

De secundo dico quod amor potest in corpore quidquid potest imaginativa seu imaginatio, nam imaginatio ipsa amori subjicitur; ergo et conceptus imaginationis subjicitur amori. Antecedens est evidens et per experientiam²⁷ et per omnium doctorum sententiam, amor enim movet imaginationem ad imaginandum de re amata et de re odita. Ipse etiam conservat ipsam imaginationem in actu imaginandi vel distrahit ad hujusmodi actum. Ex hoc sequitur quod amor potest facere variationem et alterationem in corpore sicut et ipsa imaginatio non solum interius sed etiam exterius quantum ad colores diversos, sicut patet evidenter.

De tertio dico tria. Primum est, quod imaginatio non potest totaliter super seminum formationem. Hoc patet quoniam si sic,

20. per . . .] corr. in mg.

21. corr. in mg.

22. quo . . .] mg.

23. corr. in mg.

24. imperat ms.

25. dominam ms.

26. adhuc te ms.

27. experientiae ms.

ergo in potestate cujuscumque esset generare quando vult feminam vel masculum, vel pulchrum vel turpem filium, quod est falsum.

Secundum est, quod non potest totaliter super quietam et terminatam materiam²⁸. Licet enim possit super materiam inquietam et indeterminatam, cujusmodi materia seminis est vel humorum, non tamen super materiam terminatam et esse quietum habentem. Cujus ratio est, quia actus activorum sunt in paciente disposito, sed hujusmodi, puta terminata et quieta, non est passum dispositum respectu imaginationis ut facere possit de ipsa quod vellit²⁹; ergo etc. Minor patet. Ratio³⁰ enim quare imaginatio potest super humores et semina³¹ est fluxibilitas et labilitas istorum; ergo cum materia quieta et terminata non habeat talem dispositionem sed oppositam, per consequens ipsa non erit passum dispositum respectu imaginationis.

Tertium est, quod imaginatio non potest aliquod corpus perforare. Hoc patet ex praecedenti ratione³², nam si hoc posset imaginatio facere, ergo per consequens posset super materiam terminatam et quietam, quod falsum est ex praecedenti. Praeterea, si hoc posset imaginatio facere, hoc non esset nisi quia ista materia corporis esset in plena oboedientia respectu imaginationis. Sed hoc non potest esse, ut ostendam; ergo etc. Assumptum probo: quia si sic, ergo aliquis parvus per imaginationem suam posset se facere magnum, quod est contra auctoritatem Salvatoris^h, Luc. XII³³: *Quis vestrum potest adducere ad mensuram suam cubitum unum?* Similiter ergo, homo per imaginationem suam posset restaurare partes deperditas ut manum vel pedem perditum, quod falsum est.

Praeterea, imaginatio non habet perfectum dominium super humores nec super semina; ergo multo minus super partes alicuius corporis solidas. Antecedens appareat quia si sic, ergo quicumque per imaginationem suam posset inducere suos humores ad aequalitatem et ita sibi procurare sanitatem et sic semper posset esse sanus juvenis et immortalis³⁴, quae sunt absurdā.

[II. CONCLUSIONES]

Quantum ad secundum articulum principalem dico quattuor³⁵ conclusiones.

28. *mg.*

29. *vellit ms.*

30. *ideo ms.*

31. *scientia ms.*

32. *ostendi ms.*

33. *corr. in mg.*

34. *immoralis (?) ms.*

35. *mg.*

h. *Luc. 12, 25.*

Prima est, quod beatus Franciscus non potuit habere Stigmata³⁶ per naturam.

Hanc ostendo sic: Omnis passio naturalis est ab agente naturali et modo naturali, sed impressio sacrorum Stigmatum non potuit esse ab agente naturali nec modo naturali; ergo etc. Minor patet. Primo, quod non potuit esse ab agente naturali quoniam illud vel fuisse³⁷ agens naturale extrinsecum extendendo nomen naturae ad omnem naturam sive rem creatam, vel intrinsecum. Sed constat quod non fuit aliquod agens extrinsecum, fuisse enim ibi aliquis gladius vel lancea seu aliquod aliud instrumentum, quod falsum est. Nec potest dici quod fuerit agens aliquod intrinsecum, quia illud vel esset imaginatio vel amor. Non imaginatio, cum ipsa non possit, ut dictum est, super materiam terminatam et duram; nec amor, cum hujusmodi amor non possit alias circa corpus alterationes facere nisi imagine mediante. Quod etiam ibi non fuerit passum sic passivo³⁸ aptum natum appetet, quoniam quod partes alicujus totius ab invicem separantur, hoc est contra inclinationem naturalem totius et partium ejus, cum naturaliter una pars nec variatur³⁹ alteri inclinetur.

Non potest etiam dici quod modus quo illa impressio est⁴⁰ facta fuerit naturalis. Quod enim tam subito in tam diversis corporis partibus tam diversae et difformes figurae factae sunt, modo naturali non possibilis est.

Praeterea, constat quod in Christo fuit multo fortior et vehementior imaginatio proprietum Stigmatum quam fuerit in beato Francisco; ergo, si propter vehementiam imaginationis hujusmodi impressio sacrorum Stigmatum fuit facta naturaliter in beato Francisco, multo magis debuit fieri in Christo antequam in cruce poneretur; quod falsum [est]. Probo assumptum: constat enim quod in Christo omnes vires tam sensitivae quam intellectivae erant vivaciores quam fuerint in aliqua creatura. Constat etiam quod ipse mortem vehementissime imaginabatur. Unde dicitur a quibusdam quod sudor sanguinis erat in Ipso ex vehementia passionis imaginationis, et ideo Ipseⁱ dicebat: *Pater, si possibile est, transfer calicem etc.*

Praeterea, non minus intense⁴¹ et dolorose Virgo Maria imaginabatur plagas Christi quam beatus Franciscus, nec tamen in ipsa fuerunt hujusmodi impressa Stigmata; ergo nec in beato Francisco fuerunt impressa propter vehementiam imaginationis, sed miraculose. Prima propositio

36. corr. in mg.

37. fuasset ms.

38. passio (?) ms.

39. sic in ms. Videtur esse omissio.

40. interl.

41. corr. in mg.

patet, tum quia Virgo Maria cernebatur seu contemplatur principaliter⁴², constat autem quod intensius potest imaginari praesens quam absens; tum quia de ea dictum fuit quod ejus animam doloris gladius pertransiret¹; tum quia secundum omnes sanctos majus martyrium Virgo Maria sustinuit in morte Christi quam sustinuerit aliquis martyr. Corpus etiam tam Christi quam Virginis Matris multo tenerius ac delicatus, et per consequens ad recipiendum⁴³ quascumque impressiones magis dispositum erat incomparabiliter quam corpus beati Francisci.

Praeterea, constat quod Paulus et alii Apostoli ferventissime imaginati fuerunt plagas Christi. Unde Paulus k dicebat: *michi autem absit gloriariri* etc., et clarum est quod in nullo ipsorum fuerunt impressa.

Praeterea, posito⁴⁴ quod ista impressa fuerint per naturam, quaero tunc: quomodo⁴⁵ tanto tempore fuerint conservata? Constat enim quod caro viva naturaliter crescit; ergo, cum in eadem quantitate in qua in ipso impressa fuerint conservata multo tempore usque ad mortem fuerint, tamen ipse non continue et semper Christi passionem imaginatus fuerit. Relinquitur quod non naturaliter sed miraculose fieri habuit

Secunda⁴⁶ [conclusio] est, quod congruum fuerit beatum Franciscum Christi Stigmatibus insigniri. Haec potest persuaderi:

Primo sic: miles aliquando aliquis per aliquam singularem⁴⁷ strenuitatem meretur armis sui domini insigniri, sed in⁴⁸ militia Christianae religionis beatus Franciscus fuit extrenuus miles, ergo etc.

Secundo sic: vexillarius deputatus ab aliquo domino debet ejus insignia⁴⁹ portare, sed beatus Franciscus fuit a Christo specialiter deputatus; ergo etc.

Tertio sic: congruum est ut legatus Summi Pontificis authenticus reddatur per bullam eidem patentem, sed beatus Franciscus fuit Christi legatus: ergo etc.

Quarto sic: dux venerabilis alicuius exercitus debet habere insignia veneranda, sed beatus Franciscus fuit dux venerabilis exercitus Christianae militiae: ergo etc.

Quinto sic: congruit divinam bonitatem, perfectionem, et sanctitatem alicuius aliquo exteriori signo declarare seu pandere, sed Franciscus fuit Christi Passioni devotissimus; ergo etc.

42. *mg.*

43. *corr. in mg.*

44. *ponatur ms.*

45. *quando ms.*

46. *secundum ms.*

47. *singularitatem (?) ms.*

48. *interl.*

49. *insignia ms.*

j. *Luc. 2, 35.*

k. *Gal. 6, 14.*

Sexto sic: congruit amato seipsum communicare amanti, sed Francis-cus ferventissime dilexit Christum; ergo etc. Sed non se potuit sibi magis seu modo singulario communicare; ergo etc.

Haec omnes rationes habentur ex vita sua¹.

Tertia conclusio est, quod solus Franciscus habuit hujusmodi Stigmata. Haec patet, nam in talibus soli Romanae Ecclesiae est credendum; sed Romana Ecclesia nullum alium dicit Stigmata habuisse; ergo etc.

Praeterea, hanc probat communis fidelium opinio et miraculose assertio.

Quarta conclusio: Asserere⁵⁰ beatum Franciscum non habuisse Stigmata est haereticum. Haec patet, quia asserere⁵¹ aliquid contra determinationem Ecclesiae est haereticum; ergo etc.

[III. OBJECTIONES]

Quantum ad tertium articulum arguitur primo, quod dictus Franciscus potuit habere Stigmata per naturam. Primo sic: Avicenna^m enim VIII *De animalibus*, capitulo ultimo⁵² *de moribus animalium*, dixit quod "gallina quando vincit gallum in pugna erigit quasi esset gallus, et aliquando nascitur ei cornu in crure quasi gallo⁵³: et hic percipi potest oboedientia naturalis materiae cogitationibus animae."

Praeterea, VI *Naturalium*ⁿ, P. IV, c. 4⁵⁴, dicit sic: "nos autem dicimus ad summam quod ex [anima solet contingere in materia corporali permutatio complexionis quae] acquiritur sine actione et] passione corporali ita⁵⁵ quod calor accidit non ex calido et frigiditas non ex frigido. Cum enim imaginatur⁵⁶ anima aliquam imaginationem et corroboratur in ea statim materia corporalis⁵⁷ recipit formam habentem comparationem ad illam." Haec iste.

Praeterea, eodem capitulo dicit sic: "imaginatio enim est ex hoc quod apprehensio non est de passionibus quas habet corpus principaliter quamvis postea ex imaginatione accidat extendi⁵⁸ aliquid mem-brum."

Praeterea, Augustinus^o XI *De trini.*, c. 4, dicit sic: "Tantum⁵⁹ habet

50. asserentem *ms.*

51. corr. in *mg.*

52. universaliter *ms.*

53. gallus *ms.*

54. ultimo (?) *ms.*

55. ut *ms.*

56. enim . . .] omni imaginatione *ms.* 57. corruptitur *ms.*

58. exercendi *ms.*

59. tamen *ms.*

1. S. Bonav., *l. c.*, c. 13, 9-10, VIII, 544. m. *De natura animalium*, c. 7, f. 40v.
n. *De anima*, f. 20v. o. PL 42, 989.

virium anima in corpus suum, et tantum⁶⁰ valet ad indumenti qualitatem vertendam atque mutandam, quomodo⁶¹ [homo] afficiatur⁶² indutus, qui cohaeret indumento suo. Ex eodem genere affectionis et illud est, quod in somnis per imagines illudimur" etc.

Praeterea ad idem arguitur, quia haec est propria ratio amoris, vide-licet quod transformet amantem in amatum; ergo tantus⁶³ et ita inten-sus Christi amor potuit esse in beato Francisco quod iste trans-formavit ipsum in Christum amatum.

Praeterea, Apostolus^r ad Galatas, ultimo capitulo: *Ego autem Stig-mata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto; non ergo solus beatus Fran-ciscus habuit.*

Praeterea, domina Helena, ut dicitur, habuit Stigmata etiam cum [lacuna], ut a quibusdam trufatoribus depingitur; ergo non solus beatus Franciscus.

[AD OBJECTIONES]

Ad ista. Ad primum de illo dicto Avicennae dico, quod illud non probatur nec etiam rationabile videtur quod imaginatio in corpore tantam vim habeat. Cum enim effectus naturalis quicumque ex causis similibus possit provenire, unde ergo hoc est quod cum videamus frequenter gallinam contra gallum pugnare et ipsum aliquando devin-cere, quod numquam hoc quod ipse Avicenna narrat vidimus accidere? Vel si illud dictum Avicennae est verum, potest dici quod adhuc non est simile de excrescentia huius partis unius et uniformitatem(?)⁶⁴ habentis, et de tam diversis plagis diversarum partium corporis tantam-que in ipsius corporis partibus deformitatem habentibus.

Ad aliud dictum Avicennae dico, quod Avicenna per illud non in-telligitur nisi quod imaginatio potest aliquam alterationem et varia-tionem in humoribus facere. Quod concedo, sed ex hoc nihil contra propositum.

Ad tertium dictum eiusdem⁶⁵ patet per idem. Illud enim est verum in materia de qua ipse loquitur, puta in humoribus. Concedo etiam quod imaginatio bene potest movere aliquod corpus localiter ut manum vel pedem, sed hoc nihil ad hoc.

Ad dictum Augustini dico, quod Augustinus loquitur de dominio quod habet imaginatio in seminis decisione et in humoribus, sicut patet ibi per antecedentia et sequentia.

60. tamen ms.

61. quando ms.

62. efficiatur ms.

63. causatus (?) ms.

64. excrescentia . . .] corr. in mg.

65. eidem ms.

Ad aliud, quando arguitur quod amor transformat etc., dico, quod verum est mentaliter non autem corporaliter. Unde bene verum est, quod intensissimus amor Christi quem beatus Franciscus habuit, transformavit ipsum in Christum mentaliter etiam ante impressionem sacrorum Stigmatum, non autem corporaliter eo modo quo fuit per ipsa sacratissima Stigmata transformatus; vel⁶⁶ tantum dispositive dispositione, non necessitate sed tantum de congruo.

Ad illud Pauli dicitur quod id secundum Glossam^q, intelligitur non de istis Stigmatibus. Constat enim quod Ecclesia hujusmodi sibi non attribuit, quod tamen absque dubio faceret si ipsa in suo corpore habuisset. Intelligitur ergo non de Stigmatibus saepedictis, sed de operibus Christo confectibus. Unde Stigmata in corpore meo porto, hoc est, "opera Christo conformia et afflictiones Crucis Christi in affectione habeo." Et hoc est quod dicit Glossa.

GAUDENS E. MOHAN, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*



66. nihil ms.

q. PL 192, 170.

MISCELLANEA

A MILESTONE OF RESEARCH IN SCHOLASTICISM

IT IS WITH deep satisfaction that we announce the successful completion of the edition of the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*. While the first three volumes of this monumental *Summa* appeared in comparatively rapid succession—Volume I or the first book was published in 1924, Volume II or the first part of the second book in 1928, Volume III or the second part of the second book in 1930—the learned world had to wait for about eighteen years to see the publication of Volume IV, the third book, which has come from the press this year. This retardation was due to circumstances and causes, which it is hard to say whether one should regret or welcome.

It is well-known that with the appearance of the second volume, and especially after the publication of the third volume, an ever increasing criticism started, which finally became almost as adverse and severe as the original welcome of the first volume was enthusiastic and positive. There is no need to inform our readers of the strange things which have happened during this period of criticism, since the history of the problem of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales has been told by Fr. Victorin Doucet in *Franciscan Studies* (VII (1947) March and September). In any case, the eighteen years since the publication of the third volume have not been pleasant for the editors of Quaracchi. It almost became fashionable, and was considered by some scholars and students a sign of scientific maturity, to cast doubt on the early date of the *Summa*. We do not intend to say that all of this criticism has been futile. However, lighthearted interpretation of documents and superficial information about the pertinent historical facts, or even ignorance of them, went hand in hand with many a serious endeavor to get at the bottom of the problem by studying the scholastics who were either contemporary to or immediately preceded Alexander's academic career. All this has created such a confused picture that it appeared almost impossible to solve the intricate problem of the *Summa*.

This confusion, it can be said, is at last finished with the publication of the fourth volume, and, especially, with the publication of the *Prolegomena*. As usually happens in such controversies, neither party is completely right. Nevertheless, apart from a few bruises, it seems that the editors of Quaracchi have come out of this ordeal comparatively safe.

The fourth volume, which could easily have been broken up into three spectacular tomes, contains two main parts. The second part, containing the third book of the *Summa*, completes what should be called the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, and not, as the editors did at the beginning, the *Summa Theologica Alexandri Halensis*. The rest, a large fragment of the fourth book, definitely does not belong to the original *Summa Fratris Alexandri* as it was left when Alexander died.

The first part, and we dare say the most important part of the whole edition, contains the *Prolegomena* not only to the third book, but to the two preceding books as well. The effect of these *Prolegomena* could be aptly compared to the refreshing clearing of the air after a thunderstorm. There is thunder in them, as well as lightning. The Commission of Alexander of Hales, at the famous center of Franciscan research at Quaracchi, had been under pressure both from without and within. The silence, maintained for a long time, has partly been misunderstood as a tacit admission of all the criticism leveled against the first three volumes. Now, the Commission has assumed the role of the judge of its judges. The judgment is fair, sober, and just, though sometimes severe, yet with reason.

There are 400 odd pages of *Prolegomena*, in folio size, printed in two columns. They are an astonishing monument of literary criticism. The responsibility for this work has been expressly assumed by Fr. Victorin Doucet, O.F.M., contrary to the custom of Quaracchi, at least in so far as the monumental editions are concerned. Of course, this does not mean that everything written in the *Prolegomena* is due only to the labor of Fr. Victorin Doucet. On the contrary, as he himself does not fail to mention, the rather startling and decisive discovery of Alexander's *Commentary on the Sentences* has to be credited to the joint research

of Fr. Victorin and François Henquinet, to whom the history of the scholasticism of the first part of the thirteenth century is indebted for many a solid and important contribution. However, Fr. Victorin, the present prefect of the Alexander Commission, has presented us with this classical synthesis of their joint labor, and he has signed it with his name, in order that the responsibility should not be hidden behind an easy anonymity.

The *Prolegomena* are divided into two quite unequal parts. The first deals with the text itself, and mainly with its critical value. The second is devoted to the problem of the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*. The first, and by far the shorter part (pp. XV-LVIII), contains a critical re-examination of the entire edition. The author regrets a few minor details, but defends the divisions and especially the value of the text with good reasons. We notice that the text itself is a safe one.

The second part is of the greatest interest. It deals first with the history of the problem of the *Summa*. With this particular part, the readers of *Franciscan Studies* are acquainted, since it was published here in an English translation, which, however, had to omit many of the valuable footnotes. The other part deals with the composition of the *Summa*. This vast inquiry, a real anatomy of the *Summa*, represents a minute search for all the elements which entered the structure of the *Summa*, and contains an analysis of the actual construction (from pp. LXXXI-CCCXXX-VIII). In fact, this part is a model critical analysis of a medieval text. Every quotation is studied, and all the sources, both explicit and implicit, of the *Summa* are investigated in a manner which is unequaled for any of the works of the great scholastics. Not only the common sources for the scholastics such as the Greek and Arabian philosophers, the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the theological writers to the beginning of the thirteenth century have been carefully studied and utilized for a solution of the problem of the *Summa*, but also the sources tacitly used by the *Summa* such as Alexander's *Commentary on the Sentences* and the *Quaestiones* which date back to both periods, before and after he became a friar; the works of John of Rupella, Gerric of St. Quentin, Odo Rigaldi, Saint Albert the Great, Odo of Rosny,

William of Melitona, Richard Rufus, Guido de Elemosyna, and quite a number of *Quaestiones* and *Commentarii* of unknown authors. Chapter by chapter, all three books have been confronted with these writings, and the sources have been ascertained to a great extent. The painstaking, tedious labor invested in these careful analyses has certainly not been in vain, but has yielded manifold fruit.

Let us select a few of them.

There are more than 100 quotations of Aristotelian works found in the *Summa*. None of these can be traced to any translation which is definitely later than 1245, if we except, of course, a few text-additions which will be mentioned later. Hence, from the quotations alone, we can draw the probable conclusion that the *Summa* was written before 1245. Besides dating the *Summa*, the surprisingly great number of quotations from Aristotle also proves that scholasticism can hardly be said to have started with an Augustinian philosophy, if an Augustinian philosophy has ever existed as a system, which we thoroughly doubt. The author of the *Prolegomina* rightly maintains that this early Franciscan work gives preference to Aristotle over Avicenna. There is an Aristotelianism in the *Summa* which goes hand in hand with Augustinianism, although we would rather say that there is a definite trend of Aristotelianism, still blended with Arabian philosophy, which goes side by side with the traditional and mainly Augustinian theology. We must get used to the fact that there were only Augustinian elements of philosophy in medieval scholasticism, and that many of them could be attributed with some ease to Arabian sources; for instance, the doctrine on spiritual matter and the theory of illumination.

It could, furthermore, be established beyond any reasonable doubt that all the sources used for the composition of the *Summa* are prior to 1245, and also that the *Summa* was compiled principally from the writings of Alexander and Rupella. This statement is true for the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, not, however, for the entire work as it was handed down to us since the second half of the thirteenth century. For what has been handed down to us as the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales contains

additions in the older editions: thus, in the first book, Tom. I, n. 333, ad 2-5, and especially nn. 514-518; furthermore, in the second book, Tom. II, nn. 427-523 (*De corpore coniuncto*); finally, the whole fragment of the fourth book does not belong to the *Summa* as it was left by Alexander and his collaborators, and as it existed in 1245. The latter two additions probably go back to William of Melitona and his staff.

It can also be safely stated that the composition and compilation of the *Summa* have been executed by several redactors, at least two, who can be distinguished by their preferred formulas as *Considerans* and *Inquirens*. The latter is the principal compiler of the first and third book; the former of the second book. Thus, the *Prolegomena* endorse the findings of serious scholars, as Pelster and others, though they are very cautious in definitively identifying the *Inquirens* with Rupella, or the *Inquirens* with Alexander. However, there is a certain probability in favor of it. Hence, it seems that Alexander had at least a directive part in the composition of the *Summa*.

What can be said, then, about the authenticity of the *Summa*? Can it be said to be authentic; that is, can it be said to have been written by Alexander? Definitely not in this sense, for there is a strong probability in favor of the assumption that the actual work of composition was done by Alexander's collaborator or collaborators. However, there is an equally strong probability in favor of the assumption that this work of composition and compilation was done under the direction of Alexander, using material principally from Alexander.

Hence, Fr. Victorin arrives at this certainly cautious conclusion:

Quapropter, omnibus consideratis atque perpensis, nos ita concludendum esse censemus, ut nempe dicatur quod ipse Alexander quodammodo Summam fecit, sed collaborantibus aliis et maxime Ioanne de Rupella; vel, ut verbis utamur Baconis: "quam ipse non fecit" solus, sed alii cum eo aut magis eo; item, ex propriis maxime scriptis, sed etiam ex alienis. Unde et authentica et halesiana Summa quodammodo dici potest, non autem simpliciter, nisi forte quoad Librum II. (p. CCCLXIX).

This is the final position regarding the authenticity of the

Summa. Father Victorin has reached it not on the basis of hurried, easy generalizations or inferences, but on the basis of exterior as well as interior criteria, gathered with utmost critical care. As he tells us himself, he started his work with a strong prejudice against the authenticity of the *Summa*; he has gradually arrived at this certainly sound position.

We sincerely congratulate the Prefect and the members of the Alexander of Hales Commission for this monumental work. In the future, no one doing serious work in the field of scholasticism of the first half of the thirteenth century can afford to ignore these *Prolegomena*. The unpretentious workshop of high class research in the countryside near Florence has once more produced a work for the glory of God in presenting the theologian with a classical work on the science of God. Again, this time through his brethren in Quaracchi, Alexander has "labored to compose a *Summa* about theological questions more useful indeed than lengthy, which will certainly be advantageously of service to the progress of those wishing to study in the Law of the Lord, and in which ranks of irrefragible sentences are arranged to crush the obstinacy of contentious falsehood with the weight of truth." (Pope Alexander IV)

However, not only for the Church and her holy science will the completion of this work be of great service and glory. The Franciscan Order cannot but join with great joy its successful scholars in its beloved Quaracchi. What was once said by Roger Bacon about Alexander in regard to his entering the Order of Friars Minor, can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, at the occasion of the appearance of the *Summa* of this same Frater Alexander: *Fuit Ordo minor neglectus a mundo illis temporibus, et ille aedivicavit mundum et ordinem exaltavit. Ex suo ingressu fratres et alii exaltaverunt in caelum . . .*

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

*The Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Ecce Agnus Dei! A Philological and Exegetical Approach to John 1:29, 36. By Eric E. May, O.F.M. Cap. The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology [Second Series], 5. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xiv, 177.

It is the purpose of the author to investigate and establish the meaning intended by John the Baptist in designating Jesus, *Agnus Dei*, in John 1:29, and again in John 1:36. Quite logically, he first determines the correct reading of the text, a matter of no particular difficulty, since there is no important textual problem. He resumes his study of the sacred text, now from a philological viewpoint, discussing the meanings, possible and actual, of the inspired words used. The main part of the dissertation is devoted to an exposition and criticism of all the theories advanced concerning the origin and meaning of the title, "Lamb of God." The author's conclusions (p. 92) are that this title must be traced back to Is. 53; that the Baptist was fully aware of Jesus' messianic mission and divine nature, as well as of His future sacrificial death for the sins of mankind; that He deliberately chose the language of Isaias to bear such testimony to the people and to His disciples, though He realized He would not be fully understood. The author submits a vast bibliography, along with indices of scriptural references, authors cited, and matter treated. One may not agree with Fr. May's conclusions, but he will have to acknowledge that the author has investigated the problem thoroughly, and has presented it to his readers in a scholarly manner.

Nevertheless, it is the opinion of the reviewer that there are several lapses by the author; he wishes to call attention to the following:

1) The author's explanation (pp. 137f) of the discrepancy between John 1:31, 33 and Matthew 3:14 appears weak. May would have his readers agree that, before the baptism of Jesus, the Baptist was most probably acquainted with the identity of the Messiah, but that this was a private, personal knowledge, so that he could well have disclaimed (in John): "I did not know him"—i. e., officially. Such subtlety is inconsistent with the forthright character of the Baptist.

2) The author is inconsistent in determining the traditional exegesis of the title "Lamb of God." Thus (p. 39), he indicates that the traditional view sees in John a reference to a piacular victim (" . . .

Catholics and many conservative Protestants continued to hold the traditional view which sees in John 1:29 reference to a piacular victim"). Yet below (pp. 63f), he acknowledges: "Obviously there is no question here of divine apostolic tradition . . . rather merely ecclesiastic tradition. . . . Only with some difficulty could one adduce a solidly traditional argument for any of the theories of our Johannine text. . . . Whether Lagrange's contention that the expiatory understanding of John 1:29 is not traditional happens to be justified or cannot remain a moot question."

3) By far the most serious defect encountered in the dissertation is the failure of the author to consider seriously the possibility that *ho airon* is a distinct title, having no direct bearing on the meaning of *ho amnos*. In other words, it is entirely possible that in v. 29 there are two distinct titles, messianic if you will, neither of which contributes directly to the meaning of the other. This possibility grows to probability when we note that in the Vulgate (though not in all codices) a second *ecce* appears before *qui tollit*: "Ecce agnus Dei! Ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi," and that in his second testimony identifying Jesus as the Lamb of God (v. 36) the Baptist omits entirely reference to sin. It is clear, then, that arguments drawn from the presumed interrelation between *amnos* and *ho airon* lose their force.

ANTONINE DEGUGLIELMO, O.F.M.

*Mt. Alvernia Seminary,
Wappingers Falls, N. Y.*

Manual of Missionary Action. By Joseph Etienne Champagne, O.M.I. Translated from the French into English by Roy L. Laberge. With a foreword of Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec. Ottawa, Ont.: University of Ottawa Press, 1948. Pp. 748. \$6.00.

Since the number of English books on missiology is still very limited, any new publication in this field will be a welcome addition. Father Champagne's *Manual of Missionary Action* will certainly be welcomed by all friends of the missions. Originally written in French, it has been made accessible to English-speaking readers through the translation of Roy L. Laberge. It is, as Father Champagne himself explains, not meant to be a manual of general mission science, but rather a treatment of selected questions of special interest to the seminarian and the pastor of souls. In fact, the choice and the arrangement of the subject matter was largely dependent upon the ideas of the Canadian National Council of the Missionary Union of the Clergy.

The book is divided into four parts. Its first part investigates the

notion of missions, surveys the actual mission field of the Church (missiography), explains the missionary organization of the Church, adds a chapter on the great non-Christian religions, and concludes with a short history of the missions in general and those in Canada in particular. The second part, dealing with the theological foundations of the mission apostolate, discusses the basis of our missionary efforts not only in Scripture and the teachings of the Fathers, but also in the light of the great dogmas of the Church. The third part deals with missionary co-operation and missionary vocation. The word "missionary co-operation" is, as it seems, originally an Italian expression and stands for our "mission aid." However, its meaning included not only monetary aid to the missions, but also work and prayer. Various mission aid societies, pontifical and non-pontifical, are also enumerated and described. The final chapter on missionary vocation ably discusses the need for missionary vocations, and the qualifications of a missioner. The fourth and final part is devoted to the apostolate to those who call themselves Christians, but are separated from the Church through schism or heresy. On more than 200 pages, the author discusses such questions as the position of dissenters with regard to the Church and salvation, the motives for working for the conversion of our separated brethren, requirements of the priest working in this field, religious doctrines of Protestantism, accusations and objections against the Church, types of converts, the task of the priest and the layman in this apostolate, the instruction of Protestants and their reception into the Church, and, finally, the missionary efforts of Protestants in non-Christian lands.

The work includes a wealth of information, and is especially valuable for its many pertinent mission texts from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Papal documents. Moreover, every chapter has an extensive bibliography so that the interested reader can easily go deeper into a problem which the book itself treats only briefly.

Since the book was first written in French, it is understandable that much literature is in that language; English literature is also generously given, although one misses reference to works like the *Missionary Academia Series* published by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of which many issues are up-to-date studies and of distinct value.

The English version of Father Champagne's book is, in general, clear and readable; yet, we wish that the translator had given the English version of proper names instead of retaining the French (e. g. St. Ansgar for St. Anscharie). This is especially desirable with Chinese proper names for which the widely accepted Wade system of romanization should have been used. How can a priest or seminarian

know that Hio-king is the same as the Hsiao-ching, or *Book of Filial Piety*, of which he might have heard in his college days? Or that the Chou-king is identical with the ancient Shu-ching, or *Book of History*? The spelling of Chen-king (p. 84) for Shih-ching, or *Book of Poetry*, is obviously erroneous.

On page 86, the author claims that the "Lord of Heaven" is to the Chinese Confucianist "what Manitou is to the American Indian, and the Supreme Being to the Blacks of Africa." Actually, Confucianism does not know the term "Lord of Heaven." It speaks only of *T'ien* (Heaven) and *Shang-ti* (Lord on High). The word "Lord of Heaven" was first used in Buddhist books for one of Buddhism's minor gods, but it has become widely known only through the Catholic Church which accepted this term for the Christian God, and published it as such. The chief reason why the Church chose "Lord of Heaven" is the largely impersonal character of "*T'ien*," especially in modern times.

These critical remarks should not, however, obscure the real value of the book. The author has admirably succeeded in packing a great mass of material into a single volume. We welcome the book, and believe that it will find its way into many a seminary as a textbook on missiology.

BERNWARD H. WILLEKE, O.F.M.

Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

Twenty-four American Cardinals. By Brendan A. Finn. Boston:
Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1947. Pp. 475.

This volume will arouse the curiosity of those readers who have some acquaintance with the Church's history in our country, for their reading will have brought them in touch with only the eleven Cardinals who were Ordinaries in the United States at the time of their elevation. The author extends the list by including: those who served as Bishops in the United States before their elevation but no longer held that position when they became Cardinals; those who were at one time representatives of the Holy Father in our country; those who served as Auditors of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, and also those who had some other position in the United States before their elevation. It is not easy to understand how all of these can be termed American Cardinals. If, however, that view is taken, we may wonder why others were not included, even our present Holy Father as Cardinal Pacelli. Franciscan readers will find three mem-

bers of the First Order noted in the list. Cardinal Falconio of the Friars Minor is fittingly assigned because he was a naturalized citizen, and was active in various fields of American ecclesiastical interest before his elevation. If we accept the author's view on what constitutes an American Cardinal, the name of the Capuchin Cardinal Persico is fittingly placed in the book, for he was the fourth Ordinary of the Diocese of Savannah. But to include the Capuchin Cardinal Vives y Tuto seems very tenuous when we consider that he, while still a cleric in studies, was in this country only a few months.

We can concede to the author the credit of having undertaken extensive correspondence in preparation for these twenty-four biographical sketches, as is testified by his own word, the lengthy list of collaborators, and the photograph of each Cardinal represented. The historian may lose confidence, however, in the reliability of the author's interpretations when he finds them deeply tinged with eulogy. He may also wonder why the author withholds the citation of references, particularly, for the direct quotations, unless the copyright law demands them. The present reviewer was interested in the sketch of Cardinal Persico's life, having many references on hand, but he was sorely disappointed on discovering that it was no more than a quite exact condensation of Father Donald Shearer's study on the same subject, including the author's direct quotations, yet without any references to the sources he quotes so painstakingly nor with even the mention of the author's name. Such procedure will not produce in the historian confidence in Mr. Finn's other sketches. This is most unfortunate, for with a little added effort, the author could have made his volume a most valuable contribution to the history of the Church in the United States.

THEODORE ROEMER, O.F.M. Cap.

*St. Lawrence College,
Mount Calvary, Wisconsin.*

The Nature and Unity of Metaphysics. By Rev. George M. Buckley, M.M. (Catholic University of American Philosophical Studies, vol. XCV). Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1946. Pp. xv, 261.

In this doctrinal dissertation, Father Buckley has set himself the ambitious task of establishing the nature of metaphysics as a unified science. In view of the fact that so many of the Neo-Scholastics, if one may judge from their philosophical textbooks, have fallen heir to the Wolfian atomization of metaphysics, it is refreshing to find a work like that of Father Buckley, which recognizes the need of a unified discipline.

Recognizing that "in no place does Aquinas expressly show how the parts of metaphysics form one unified science," (p. xii) Father Buckley essays to reveal what is implicit in the system of St. Thomas. He analyzes Aquinas' conception of an ideal science, essentially that of Aristotle, and then attempts to apply this notion to the various metaphysical conceptions and doctrines of the Saint. Despite its noble aim, however, Father Buckley's study has not a few serious defects.

The author takes for granted that metaphysics is a science in the strict sense, as defined by St. Thomas in his commentary on the *Posterior Analytics of Aristotle*. Aquinas, he tells us, took the metaphysics of Aristotle "to represent one unified system of thought whether or not he personally adhered to the opinion that they are one unified composition." (p. xi).

Beyond the passing reference to Jaeger's study, the author shows no sign that he is aware of the historical controversy over the nature of Aristotle's metaphysics among his followers. The disagreement of Avicenna and Averroes, for instance, regarding the subject of metaphysics is based to a great extent on the difficulty of applying the strict notion of a *propter quid* science to the metaphysical speculations of the Stagirite.

Father Buckley's discussion of the nature of science should have been prefaced by a few clear-cut distinctions and definitions regarding the several senses in which the scholastics commonly used the term *scientia*. In reading the opening chapter, one gets the impression that Father Buckley himself does not have too clear an idea of just wherein the *formal* character of *scientia* as a body of knowledge consists. In fact, his definition of science as "demonstrative knowledge" would seem to indicate that he has missed the essential character of *scientia*. It is not simply *demonstrative*, but *demonstrated* knowledge. In other words, whether we consider *scientia* as a single conclusion (scientific knowledge) or a body of such conclusions (science), that which is formally the *scientia* is the conclusion or conclusions, not the principles. The latter are what St. Thomas calls "semina scientiarum" for they contain the science only virtually. Hence, he writes: "proprie scibilia dicuntur *conclusiones demonstrationis*." (*Post. Analy.* I, 10); "scientia accipitur prout est demonstratio effectus." (*ib.* 41); or that it is the "habitus conclusionum, qui dicitur *scientia*." (*Sum. th.* I, II, 53, 1).

As Father Buckley points out, St. Thomas, following Aristotle, declares that a science as a unified or organized body of truths comprises a subject genus, principles, and attributes. Further, the meta-physician has to consider the notions of subject and its attributes, and

indirectly to defend the first principles (since there is no higher science in which they are established or defended). But it should be noted that the analysis of concepts, and the indirect establishment of the principles is not the essential task of the science. This is preliminary, so to speak. The formal character of *scientia*, as Aristotle understood it, arises from the fact that we have propositions which are known in virtue of some antecedent cause or reason. The knowledge of the principles is not yet the science; the latter is what can be inferred from these principles. To put it briefly: if being is the subject genus of metaphysics and *unum, verum, bonum*, etc., are the attributes or *passiones* to be demonstrated of the subject, then such propositions as *omne ens est verum, omne ens est bonum*, etc., should be conclusions, and should form the body of the science. It is rather strange, then, to find Father Buckley referring to these as *principles*, and, consequently, as *causes* of the formal science rather than the science itself. Furthermore, such principles are regarded as self-evident or analytical propositions, and, therefore, should pertain to *intellectus* rather than to *scientia*, which is the *habitus conclusionum*. Hence, we are somewhat at a loss to understand what the author means by "gradual scientific progression." The value of this work, as the reviewer sees it, is rather to make one aware of the problems involved in unifying metaphysics than to provide a positive solution.

ALLAN B. WOLTER, O.F.M.

Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

La Logique de Théophraste. By I. M. Bochenski, O. P. (*Collectanea Friburgensia. Publications de l'Université de Fribourg en Suisse. Nouvelle Serie. Fasc. XXXII*). Fribourg en Suisse: Librairie de l'Université, 1947. Pp. 138.

A careful reading of this brilliant study on the Logic of Theophrast has once more convinced the reviewer that the true history of Logic has still to be written. Even after the monumental work of Prantl, *Die Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande* (four vols., Leipzig 1855-1867, photostatic reprint 1927), the historical development of Logic, insofar as real Logic is concerned, is practically unknown. Prantl's work, although it contains a wealth of undigested information in the texts quoted as footnotes, very often goes wrong in interpreting the sources. It seems that Prantl simply lacked the necessary logical knowledge in order to be able to write a history of Logic. The reviewer is convinced that, at present, a necessary prerequisite for such a task is a thorough acquaintance with modern Logic.

With few exceptions, really worthwhile studies in the history of Logic have been made by scholars versed in modern Logic. Lukasiewicz, in his valuable articles, "Zur Geschichte der Aussagenlogik", in *Erkenntnis* 5 (1935), pp. 121-124, gave the first and decisive impulse in this direction; viz., to utilize this excellent and exact means of modern Logic. It was followed by some of his disciples of the Warsaw School, including Salamucha and BochenSKI, by Scholz and his disciple, Becker, and a few other scholars. As the result of their work, we are now, at last, beginning to see light where Prantl disgustedly found only utter darkness. Though no comprehensive study had yet been made, nevertheless, the significance of certain ancient and medieval logicians and the great outlines of the true history of ancient and medieval Logic are taking shape. In any case, the rehabilitation of the Logic of the Stoicks and the Logic of the fourteenth century scholasticism can be considered to be an accomplished fact.

In the present study, Father BochenSKI, O. P., a disciple of Lukasiewicz, adds another important publication to his previous ones in the history of Logic. This time it is devoted to Theophrast, the immediate successor of Aristotle. Of his works, only small fragments of varying degrees of authenticity have been handed down to us through the works of other ancient logicians. Yet, it is surprising how much information could be drawn from these scanty sources. Fr. BochenSKI has delved into the matter with such a philological and historical thoroughness and with such a logical acumen that this study is at the same time a model of philosophical and logical research.

The author deals first with the sources; that is, with fragments found in the work of other ancient writers. He then establishes the number and titles of Theophrast's logical works. After having secured in this manner the textual basis for his study, the author goes on to discuss their content under the headings: The Tract on Affirmation, Assertoric Syllogistics, The Logic of Modality, and the Hypothetical Syllogisms. A short discussion of fragments from other writings, general conclusions, and four analytical indices (of names, of texts or technical Greek terms, and of logical theses), complete the work.

Of the many important and interesting results obtained by the author, a few may be selected.

There is strong evidence in favor of the statement that Theophrast's Logic represents Aristotelian Logic at the stage where Aristotle left it, unable to incorporate his final insights into the works known to us. However, Theophrast had the tendency to systematize, and, likewise, to simplify and to develop the final position of Aristotle. The close connection between the Logic of Eudemos and Theophrast finds a

natural explanation if we assume that both started where their master ended.

Theophrast especially developed the so-called hypothetical syllogisms, which are usually traced back to Galene.

Furthermore, Theophrast interpreted the modality *possible* as referring to a proposition of which the contradictory opposite is not necessary, but not to a proposition, which in addition, to this characterization is not necessary. Hence, the *contingens ad utrumlibet* seems to be avoided by Theophrast; at least, there is a strong tendency in this direction.

According to the author, Theophrast, moreover, had some idea about the interpretation of the universal categorical proposition as a conditional proposition, as is the custom in modern Logic. We have to confess that we need more enlightenment on this point before we may be able to follow him not only in his interpretation, as we would like to do, but also on the idea of a double quantifier in Theophrast.

Most interesting are some results which, at the same time, do not throw a favorable light on Neo-Scholastic Logic. The rule that the conclusion has to follow the weaker part goes back to Theophrast, and cannot be called either Aristotelian or Thomistic in an unqualified sense. The same is true of the theory of Hypothetical syllogisms, and the logic of Modalities. To a much greater extent than the author expresses in the following lines, one may accurately state: "J. Gredt, O.S.B., *Elementa Philosophiae Aristotelico-Thomisticae . . . done non pas la logique de la modalité Aristotelico-Thomiste, mais bien celle de Théophraste.*" (p. 127; footnote 354). We believe that the author would agree with us when we say (with some exaggeration) that Neo-Scholastic Logic is neither new nor scholastic.

It is further interesting to note that Theophrast prepared the Logic of the Stoics, which is at least equal in importance to that of Aristotelian Syllogistics. However, he did not originate but only stimulated, the Logic of propositions, developed principally by the Stoics.

Many more interesting results could be noted. The interested reader will find a wealth of information in this masterly study; we can rightly call it a classical study in classical Logic.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

*The Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

Bases de Uma Ordem Social. By Guido Gonella. Translated by A. J. Rocha. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes, 1947. Pp. 344.

The Italian original appeared in 1944; it is an enlarged reprint of a series of articles published in the *Osservatore Romano* in 1943. These articles represent a sort of commentary on the Papal Christmas message of 1942. The four parts deal with the human person, society, the state, and with the family, labor, and property. The text of the Christmas message is added as an appendix.

Part I is divided into six chapters: nature of the person, religious dignity, moral dignity, juridical, political, and economic dignity. Part II begins with a discussion of the nature of society and goes on to consider its divine origin, the common good as the end of society, and the relation between the person and the common good. It closes with two chapters on the classification of social organizations, and the national and international social order. Part III, by far the longest of the four, has first a section on the nature, end, and function of the state, comprised of chapters on the Christian conception of the state, its purpose, the moral aspects, the relation of the state and law, the relation of the state and politics, and the relation of the state and economics. The second section considers "Individual and State," as well as "Equality and Freedom." The third section treats of the following: law, divine, natural, and positive; law, justice, and love; protection of the law; the principle of representation.

The exposition and explanation of the fundamental ideas and many additional remarks are clear and helpful. They are, however, in virtue of the nature of the text and the problems, hardly to be called "philosophical." This brief summary of content has, therefore, to suffice.

RUDOLF ALLERS

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

General Biology and Philosophy of Organism. By Ralph Stayner Lillie. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 215. \$3.00.

It was the late Prof. A. N. Whitehead who wrote: "The status of life in Nature is the standing problem of philosophy and of science. Indeed it is the central meeting point of all the strains of systematic thought, humanistic, naturalistic, philosophic."

This same conviction has evidently inspired this interesting and

provoking philosophical essay by an eminent physiologist, sponsored by the University of Chicago Committee on Publications in Biology and Medicine. As Prof. Lillie states in his preface to the work, his aims are philosophical, though his method of treatment is empirical. Though he realizes that he is opening himself to criticism from both the philosopher and biologist to whom his work will either seem too empirical or too philosophical, respectively, nevertheless, he insists the divorce between science and philosophy is unreal and inimical to the interests of truth. The universe is a whole, and the naturalist should have "an interest in the whole as well as in the parts." But when the scientist ventures a "*Weltanschauung*," it is usually based upon the physical rather than the biological sciences. It becomes an oversimplification rather than an explanation. The scientist, consequently, needs the philosopher's conception of nature lest he lose sight of the proverbial woods in his contemplation of the single trees. Biology, in particular, is apt to suffer from excessive analysis. In attempting to reduce the organism to a conglomeration of mere physical or chemical factors, Biology "misses its aim" for it is essentially a "synthetic science," and "its field extends beyond the mere physics of the organism."

The living being is not only a physical but a psycho-physical entity . . . the problem of the nature and role of the psychical in living organisms is as important as the problem of their physical constitution. (p. 7).

As a solution to this problem, Prof. Lillie formulates the following thesis. Every organism represents a synthesis of dynamic and static factors, but, unlike purely physical systems which are characterized by a certain stability or "routine" activity, a living system evinces an aspect of "genuine novelty." All organic evolution, whether genetic or individual, represents a break with the past, a step forward to what is new. While the natural sciences study the permanent, the regular, the recurrent, they must recognize that "individuation, diversity, and novelty are primary facts of nature, as well as stability and regularity." (p. 194). To speak simply of a substratum of energy does not suffice, for this is common to the physical as well as the living system. "What causes or conditions the departure from routine, the appearance of genuine novelty in nature?"

The key, Prof. Lillie suggests, is to be found in the analysis of ourselves, for we are a psychophysical unity. We discover the cause of novelty, of creativeness, and of spontaneity in the psychical side of our nature. It is our "mind" that enables man to break with the past, to progress, and to develop. Mind, and mind alone, explains

selection, innovation, and integration, all of which imply "direction, aim, purpose—in a word, the teleological."

All natural activities may be classified as either random or directed. The random activities distribute themselves in accord with the laws of probability, and furnish the basis for the uniformity and stability of inorganic processes. Nevertheless, such statistical laws cannot account for progressive differentiation or the complex organization. Even synthesis of the more complex chemical compounds requires the interference and the direction of the chemist in the laboratory. Under psychical guidance, however, it becomes possible for physically static organized systems to be built up step by step and ultimately to attain almost any degree of complexity. Not only in their development but also in their maintenance, the psychical factor must interfere.

This control of the organism by the psychical principle can easily escape detection, for the high degree of physical organization requires only an occasional directive intervention. The directive control of the psychic principle, like the nervous or endocrine system, is "localized in spatially minute regions, where it acts intermittently and from which it spreads to larger areas." (p. 205). This does not mean, however, that the "general organicistic field influence" is to be found only in one portion of the organism. Prof. Lune suggests that "it is a unifying principle and that it pervades all parts of the organism while the latter remains alive. It is a principle of coherence, or harmonious activity." (p. 207).

From what has already been said, it is clear that Whitehead's conception of the universe as a living organism has influenced Prof. Lune's interpretation of nature to no small degree. He favors a form of panpsychism "which offers no conflict with physical or biological science," (p. 17) and maintains that "the psychical qualities, so highly developed in man and higher animals, are an evolution from properties and conditions which are general or universal in nature." (p. 195). On the other hand, there is much of the "traditional" Aristotle in his conception of the psychomatic relations, the importance of teleology, the relation of the empirical sciences, the philosophy of nature, and so forth.

The Neo-Scholastic will find this work of the eminent physiologist both stimulating and provocative.

ALLAN B. WOLTER, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

As Técnicas de Pesquisa Social. By Francisco de Paula Ferreira. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes, 1947. Pp. 160.

This is a brief study of social methodology, or the procedures of social inquiry. It is a volume in the series "Biblioteca de cultura Católica." The first chapters deal with two men whom the author considers the fathers of social science: Le Play, who was born in 1806, and de Tourville, who was born in 1842. The latter, particularly, was animated by the desire to improve the conditions of those people who suffer from a defective social organization, and to apply exact observational methods to the study of society. He distinguished twenty-five main classes of social facts, and worked out a "universal questionnaire" as a basis for all inquiry in social science. He advocated monographical studies; e. g., the families of working men. Various objections are reviewed and some corrections made; however, on the whole, the author feels that Tourville's ideas still furnish the most valuable approach to social studies. The second part contains practical suggestions on social inquiry in Brazil, particularly on new procedures of statistics, and a chapter on the relations between inquiry and social service, also in view of Brazilian conditions. A short bibliography is added.

RUDOLF ALLERS

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- A Chart of the Government of the Catholic Church.* Chicago, Ill.: Frank Blake, 1948.
- AB BARZUZA, XAVERIO, O.F.M. Cap. *Manuale Theologicae Dogmatis. Vol. III. De Sacramentis in genere et in specie.* Chile: Typis Editum apud Padre Las Casas, 1947. Pp. xv-514.
- ABATE, GIUSEPPE, O.F.M. Conv. *La Tomba del Ven. Giovanni Duns Scoto, O. Min. nella Chiesa di S. Francesco a Colonia.* Roma: Editrice Miscellanea Francescana. Pp. 53.
- Actas del Congreso Mariano Franciscano-Español.* Madrid: Ediciones Verdad y Vida, 1948. Pp. 380-Index.
- ADELINO, JOSE. *Farmação do Seminarista.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda, 1947. Pp. 186.
- BONZELET, HONORATUS, O.F.M. *Father Jerome and the Bridal Couple.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. ix-106. \$1.25.
- BROWN, BONAVENTURE A., O.F.M. *The Numerical Distinction of Sins According to the Franciscan School of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948. Pp. xvii-114. \$2.75.
- CHAUVET, FIDEL DE J., O.F.M. *Fray Juan de Zumarraga, O.F.M.* Mexico: Biblioteca de los Anales, 1948. Pp. 370.
- COLLINS, JOSEPH B., S.S. *Pope Pius X. After His Death.* Washington, D. C.: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1948. Pp. 53. 15c.
- CLAVER, SR. MARY PETER, O.P. and SR. MARY LUILLA, O.P. *The Catholic Booklist, 1948.* Edited by The Catholic Library Association. River Forest, Ill.: Dept. of Library Science, Rosary College, 1948. Pp. 110.
- DA PROVIDENCIA, IRMA. *A Fé No Amor de Deus.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 293.
- DE MAGALHAES, MONS. HENRIQUE. *Aos Que Sofrem.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 126.
- ERNEST, BROTHER, C.S.C. *And The Winds Blew.* New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 227. \$1.50.
- First National Congress for Priests. Enthronement of the Sacred Heart in the Home.* Milwaukee, Wis.: St. Francis Major Seminary, 1946. Pp. 92. \$1.00.
- FOLEY, THEODOSIUS, O.F.M. Cap. *Religious Life in Christ.* Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. vii-163. \$2.50.
- FORREST, REV. M. D., M.S.C. *Why a Religious Brother?* St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 32. 15c.

- GOUGH, REV. JOSEPH F. *Our Lady of Fatima*. St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 24. 15c.
- HANOUSEK, SR. MARY EUNICE, O.S.F. *A New Assisi. The First Hundred Years of the Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi*. Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. xiv-231. \$5.00.
- HORNBACK, FLORENCE. *Kianga*. Illustrated by Robb Beebe. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 79. 75c.
- JAMES, FATHER, O.F.M. Cap. *How to Walk with the Holy Spirit*. Cork, Eire: The Mercier Press, 1948. Pp. 47. 9d.
- JEPSON, JOHN J., S.S. *St. Augustine. The Lord's Sermon on the Mount*. ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1948. Pp. 209-Index. \$2.75.
- KYBAL, REV. VLASTIMIL. *Svaty Frantisek z Assisi*. Vinohrady: Nákladem Jana Laichtera na Král, 1913. Pp. 252.
- LHOTA, BRIAN, O.F.M. *Vocational Interests of Catholic Priests*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1948. Pp. vii-40.
- LONG, VALENTINE, O.F.M. *Magnificent Man*. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 270. \$2.50.
- MAGALHAES, MONS. HENRIQUE. *O Pensamento de São Paulo em Suas Epistolas*. Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1948. Pp. 400-Index.
- MERTON, THOMAS. *Exile Ends in Glory. The Life of a Trappistine. Mother M. Berchmans, O.C.S.O.* Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1948. Pp. xii-311. \$3.75.
- MILLER, RAYMOND J., C.Ss.R. *Forty Years After: Pius XI and the Social Order*. St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. xvi-149-Index. \$2.75.
- MONTE, PE. NIVALDO. *A Dor*. Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 105.
- MURPHY, REV. ROLAND E., O.Carm. *A Study of Psalm 72 (71)*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1948. Pp. vii-140-Index.
- PLASSMANN, THOMAS, O.F.M. *From Sunday to Sunday*. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. v-409. \$3.50.
- Proceedings of The American Catholic Philosophical Association*. Vol. XXII. Twenty-second Annual Meeting. December 29 and 30, 1947. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1947. Pp. 246.
- RUMBLE, REV. DR., M.S.C. *I Must Obey the Church!* St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 36. 15c.
- *Why You Should Be a Catholic*. St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 34. 15c.
- *The Marriage Service and Nuptial Mass*. St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 39.

- *What You Should Know About Baptizing Infants.* St. Paul, Minn.: Radio Replies Press, 1948. Pp. 6. 5c.
- SATTLER, HENRY V., C.Cs.R. *A Philosophy of Submission. A Thomistic Study in Social Philosophy.* Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948. Pp. xi-212.
- Sobre a Imaculada Conceição de Nossa Senhora.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 39.
- Sobre a Propagação da Fé.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 21.
- Sobre a Reforma Social.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1948. Pp. 29.
- Sobre a Santíssima Eucaristia.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 22.
- Sobre as Doutrinas Modernistas.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1948. Pp. 71.
- Sobre as Missões Católicas.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 24.
- Sobre os Erros do Sillon.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1948. Pp. 31.
- Sobre São Bento, Patriarca dos Monges do Ocidente.* Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1947. Pp. 20.
- TYRELL, FRANCIS MARTIN. *The Role of Assent in Judgment.* Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1948. Pp. xiii-184.
- VECCHIERELLO, HUBERT, O.F.M. *A Catholic Looks at Rosicrucianism.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1939. Pp. 82. 25c.
- WYSER, PAUL. *Thomas Von Aquin.* Fribourg: Société Philosophique, 1948. Pp. 78.



FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Spirit and Life Series

No. 1.

From Sunday to Sunday

An Interpretation of
The Proper of the Mass
That seeks to place
The Venerable Liturgy
In Modern Focus

by The Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D.

Pp. v, 409, \$3.50.

The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

or

St. Anthony Guild Press
Paterson, N. J.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

History Series No. 1

THREE SAINTS' LIVES
By NICHOLAS BOZON

By SISTER M. AMELIA (KLENKE), O. P.

This work, taken in its compact entirety, is a scholarly study with direct appeal to scholars alone. But a person of any degree of education -- our charming friend, the Average Reader -- will find profit and great delight in the poetic biographies themselves.

Taken from the Foreword written by
The Most Rev. Michael J. Ready, Bishop of Columbus

Pp. LXXVIII, 123. Price \$2.00. To Subscribers to FRANCISCAN STUDIES or FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS \$1.50.

The Franciscan Institute

St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

LEARN TO USE A BANK

The wide variety of a bank's services are of incalculable value to its customers and its community.

Learn of the many ways in which you can use FIRST NATIONAL facilities which have been perfected through seven decades of service to Olean and vicinity. Checking, Interest, Safe Deposit, Trust and other facilities are at your command here.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK, Olean, N. Y.

Oldest National Bank in Cattaraugus County

MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

Books of Meaning

POETIC ART

By Paul Claudel

The classical themes of philosophy, the relation between subject and object, between mind and body, the nature of time, the meaning of history, and the existence of God, are a few of the subjects here presented by the eminent French poet, philosopher and mystic.

For those to whom the idea of French thought evokes the spirit of Cartesian rationalism, Poetic Art will reveal the equally important mystical and dreamy aspect of French speculation of which Claudel is an original exemplar.

\$2.75.

SAINT ELIZABETH

By Anne Seesholtz

Young Elizabeth, born a Hungarian princess, became, during her brief life of twenty-five years, one of the few distinguished women of the Thirteenth Century.

The pageantry of kings and bishops, minne-singers and pilgrim, Teutonic Knights, townfolk and peasants, the wealthy families and suffering poor, as well as the social conflicts of her Time, form the rich background for this portrait of an amazing Christian saint.

\$2.75.

SAINT MARGARET OF CORTONA

By Francois Mauriac

"I have never praised Mauriac before, but now I must say that here he is at his best. We have here a noble piece of work . . . may start a new method of hagiography which will give us saints that are alive."—*J. M. Lelan, Ph.D., Books on Trial.*

\$3.00.

ART AND FAITH

Exchange of Letters Between Jacques Maritain and Jean Cocteau

"A fascinating illumination of the intellectual and spiritual association of two of France's great modern writers and thinkers."—*America.*

\$2.75

At Your Bookstore or Use Coupon

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers

15 E. 40th St., Dept. 299, New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me copies of (write in margin)
at \$..... per copy. Enclosed are \$.....

NAME

ADDRESS

MARY IMMACULATE

The Bull "Ineffabilis Dei" of Pope Pius IX

Translated by Dominic J. Unger, O. F. M. Cap.

A brief but significant work, which gives the matter of a vital papal pronouncement. The Bull deals principally with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; indirectly, the Pope touches on other truths about Mary, and on the dogma of the development of the Church's doctrines.

40 pp., paperbound, \$0.50

Dept. 4-887
ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS
PATERSON 3, N. J.

The Academy of American Franciscan History *announces the publication of* **A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE SANTA BARBARA MISSION ARCHIVES**

BY
MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., Ph.D.

Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History;
Bibliographical series, Volume I
Crown quarto; heavy buckram; xiv & 292 pages; fully indexed; \$5.00.
10% discount to Libraries.

The *Calendar* is a most useful archival guide for all interested in the history of the Missions, the history of California and the Southwest in its Spanish, Mexican and American periods, as well as the broader fields of general Hispanic-American history and Indian Ethnology. As such it is a book no library or interested student can afford to be without. It is a basic research tool.

Order from:

THE ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY
29 Cedar Lane
Washington 14, D. C.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

THE TRACTATUS DE SUCCESSIVIS

Attributed to WILLIAM OCKHAM

By PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M., Ph.D......\$2.00

"This is a kind of work which all mediaevalists and students of philosophy will welcome and, perhaps, try to emulate."....
Vernon J. Bourke

TRACTATUS DE PRAEDESTINATIONE ET DE
PRAESCIENTIA DEI ET DE FUTURIS
CONTINGENTIBUS of WILLIAM
OCKHAM

By PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M., Ph.D......\$2.00

A careful analysis of the logic of this tract reveals the Medieval logic in some of its excellence and modernity.

INTUITIVE COGNITION
A KEY TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LATER
SCHOLASTICS

By SEBASTIAN DAY, O.F.M., Ph. D......\$2.00

A penetrating study of the teaching concerning intuitive cognition in Scotus and Ockham.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS
IN CHINA DURING THE YEARS 1784-1785

By BERNWARD WILLEKE, O.F.M., Ph.D......\$2.25

This study deals with the crucial years 1784 and 1785 when the Manchu government instituted a severe, nationwide persecution of Christianity.

THE TRANSCENDENTALS AND THEIR FUNCTION
in the METAPHYSICS OF DUNS SCOTUS

By ALLAN WOLTER, O.F.M., Ph.D......\$2.00

The whole treatise is integrated by means of Scotus' ingenious conception of metaphysics and its significance for natural theology.

THE ACADEMY PRESS
WASHINGTON D. C.

ARCHBISHOP
PASCHAL CHARLES ROBINSON, O.F.M.
1870-1948

THE MOST REV. PASCHAL ROBINSON, O.F.M., one of the world's distinguished Franciscan Scholars and writers, born in Dublin on April 26, 1870, died in his native city on August 27 of this year, at the age of seventy-eight.

After receiving his education in both England and America, he took up the journalistic career, serving for a time as London correspondent of the *New York Sun*. Later he became associate-editor of the *North American Review*, one of the well-known monthlies of the nineties.

During his stay in New York City, he lived near the headquarters of the Commissariat of the Holy Land, then located in the metropolis, and thus became acquainted with the late Father Godfrey Schilling, O.F.M., founder of Mount St. Sepulchre, Washington, D. C. This friendship culminated in 1896 with Charles Robinson entering the Franciscan Order at St. Bonaventure College, Allegany, N. Y. He received as his religious name that of the sainted Paschal Baylon, Franciscan laybrother, patron of Eucharistic Congresses.

After starting his theological studies at St. Bonaventure, Frater Paschal was appointed professor of English literature, and during this period founded *The Laurel*, a college literary monthly still being published. He completed his preparatory studies for the priesthood at St. Anthony's International College at Rome, where he was ordained on December 21, 1901.

After returning to the United States he taught Sacred Theology, and was Master of Clerics. He became the first member of the newly-formed Holy Name Province to be appointed Provincial Chronicler.

In 1904, Father Paschal was chosen as a member of the staff of the Institute of Franciscan Research at Quaracchi, near

Florence, and in 1907 became associate-editor of the scholarly *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*. During this period, Father Paschal explored several European archives that had hitherto been unknown to the world. He also visited many monasteries and libraries in search of information about St. Francis and the history of the Franciscan Order.

The first published work of this authority on things pertaining to the Poverello and his Order appeared in 1904. It was entitled *The Real Saint Francis*, and completely refuted the erroneous theories expounded by Paul Sabatier. This renowned French scholar had given fresh impulse to the world-wide interest and research into the life of The Little Poor Man of Assisi, with his *The Life of St. Francis* which appeared in 1894. So popular had this book become that its original French edition had gone through twenty-seven editions within ten years, and had been translated into many of the important languages. But it was Father Paschal who pointed out the erroneous theological flaws in the book, and wrote his *The Real Saint Francis* wherein he satisfactorily refuted Sabatier's contention that the Poverello was the fore-runner of Protestantism. Further research and deeper study of the arguments advanced by Father Paschal finally convinced Sabatier himself, who recast his original work before his death in 1928.

The year 1906 witnessed the appearance of the second work of Father Paschal, *The Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi*, newly translated into English with an Introduction and Notes. This volume received enthusiastic praise from reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic, and encomium from Pope Pius X himself. His next contribution to Franciscan literature was his *Some Pages of Franciscan History*, which is still helpful today.

The following year the renowned scholar furnished the English-speaking world with another item that has helped to make St. Francis better known and loved. His *A Short Introduction to Franciscan Literature* provides the student with an outline of the early sources of Franciscan History, and lists

the principal works relating to St. Francis and the Franciscan Movement. It is hoped that this fine piece of research will be brought up to date soon, so as to include the wealth of material on the subject that has been printed since 1907.

Other works came from the facile and scholarly pen of this learned friar. Among them are: *The Golden Sayings of Brother Giles of Assisi*, and *The Life of St. Clare of Assisi*.

In addition to writing numerous articles for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *The Encyclopedia of Education*, Father Paschal was a frequent contributor to scholarly journals including: *The Dolphin*, *Donahoe's Magazine*, *Dublin Review*, *Catholic Historical Review*, *The American Ecclesiastical Review* and *The Catholic World*.

For a time, 1913-1919, he held the chair of Medieval History at Catholic University of America. During this period he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and represented the United States at the Seventh Centenary Commemoration of Roger Bacon at Oxford.

The Holy See appointed Father Paschal as member of the Delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, and later he was sent as Apostolic Visitor to Palestine, Transjordania and Cyprus. He also visited Greece, Syria and Egypt on special missions for the Vatican. As reward for his fine work in behalf of the Church in the Orient, Pope Pius XI elevated him to the dignity of Titular Archbishop of Tyana in 1927. Two years later he was sent as Apostolic Delegate to Malta where he successfully re-established harmony between the English government and the ecclesiastical authorities on the Island.

He was then appointed Apostolic Nuncio to the Irish Free State (later Eire), and became the first to hold this position since the days of Cromwell, 1645. Archbishop Robinson also held the offices of Consultor of the Sacred Congregations of: Religious, of Studies, of the Propagation of the Faith, and the Oriental Church.

On November 12, 1939, during the Golden Jubilee celebration of Catholic University, the honorary degree of Doctor of

Laws was conferred on the distinguished Papal Nuncio *in absentia*. Twenty years previously, the Holy Father had honored him with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.

In the midst of his labors for Holy Mother Church, and in the eighteenth year as Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Paschal Robinson was called to his eternal reward at the age of seventy-eight. His state obsequies were marked by Franciscan simplicity, as he requested, and he was buried in the Franciscan habit. Archbishops, Bishops, priests, brothers and sisters, statesmen, diplomats and civic leaders in addition to thousands of lay people paid their last respects to this humble friar. "Our Sister Wind" played a Requiem while the skies wept, as he was laid to rest in the Friars' Plot in Glasnevin, amid the booming of a 19-gun military salute.

In thus chronicling the life and death of this learned and charming Franciscan, one cannot help but feel proud of the great work that he accomplished during his span of life. The international distinction which he achieved in the fields of Franciscan Studies, literature and diplomacy, lend credence to the belief that even humble sons of St. Francis can leave their imprint on the sands of time.

At Holy Name College, Washington, D. C., within sight of Catholic University, this distinguished prelate has left to Franciscan students a literary legacy in the form of "The Paschal Robinson Collection", a library devoted to Franciscan and Medieval Studies. May those who make use of it breathe an occasional prayer for their renowned confrere who was not only a distinguished statesman, but also a humble, loyal son of St. Francis.

It is fitting and a privilege that these lines be penned by a member of St. Bonaventure College where Charles Robinson received the Franciscan Habit, and began his religious life as a friar fifty-two years ago. May his work for God, Holy Mother Church, and the Franciscan Order live after him.

IRENAEUS HERSCHER, O.F.M.

*St. Bonaventure College Library,
St. Bonaventure, New York.*

POSITIVISM AND MONISM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE EARLY POSITIVISTS

THE EMPHASIS upon natural law, so characteristic of Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), and ostensibly exhibited by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), is by no means found with all seventeenth-century writers on international law.

The Englishman Richard Zouche (1590-1660)¹ is an outstanding dissenter. For decades a successor of Alberico Gentili (1552-1608) in the chair of Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, he also served temporarily in a high position as a judge. His main work on international law² forms part of a methodically arranged series of moderate-sized textbooks mainly for the use of students, all prepared by Zouche. A treatise on the *Elements of Jurisprudence*,³ based on Roman law, served as an introduction, to be followed by separate tracts on feudal (1634), ecclesiastical, military, maritime (1640), and, finally, on international law.

The circumstantial title of Zouche's work on international law is occasioned by the fact that Zouche wanted to avoid the term *jus gentium*. For a professor of civil law it was obvious to think, instead, of the *jus feuale* and to choose the *Explanation of the Jus Feuale and of the Questions Concerning It* as the principal title of his work. This idea miscarried, because the average

1. See Brierly, *Zouche*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XV, 540-541; Scelle, *Zouche*, in *Les fondateurs du droit international* (Paris, 1904), 239-330; Holland, *Introduction to Juris et judicij fecialis . . .*, in *Classics of International Law*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1911), vol. I, I-XVI; Phillipson, *Zouche*, in *Great Jurists of the World* (London, 1913), 220-247; Walter, *Richard Zouche und seine Bedeutung fuer das Voelkerrecht* (Wuerzburg, 1927).

2. *Juris et judicij feacialis, sive juris inter gentes, et quaestionem de eodem explicatio* (Oxford, 1650); in *Classics of International Law*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1911).

3. *Elementa jurisprudentiae definitionibus regulis et sententiis selectioribus juris civilis illustrata* (Oxford, 1629).

reader could not possibly understand the most learned reference to the ancient law, and because the *jus feiale* was a typically Roman institution. Evidently Zouche himself was not quite satisfied with his choice, so he added as a second title *jus inter gentes* (law among nations), that accurate phrase first suggested by Francisco Vitoria (1480-1546). Neither term has won ascendancy in later literature. By a change or, rather, concentration of meaning *jus gentium* (law of nations) became the technical term for our subject matter—writers on international law were probably reluctant to lose the millennial flavor of *jus gentium*. Nevertheless, Zouche's endeavor showed his discernment.

Zouche is entitled to much greater recognition on the ground that he was the first author to undertake the systematic treatment of the entire field of international law. Though some important topics, such as neutrality, were merely touched upon, and very little attention was given to the subject of treaties, Zouche's enterprise was highly meritorious. Moreover, Zouche co-ordinated the laws of war and peace, thus elevating peace from an incident of war to a status. The methodological improvement was all the more conspicuous since he placed the law of peace ahead of the law of war. England's relative freedom from foreign wars during Zouche's days may have influenced his attitude. Another factor was perhaps the Peace of Westphalia, which had been concluded two years before the publication of his book and which had filled the peoples of Europe with fresh confidence.

In other respects Zouche's system is less satisfactory. His dominant principle of organization, followed through his series of textbooks, is strange indeed—under the caption of *jus* he treats noncontroversial parts of his subject matter and thereafter, under the caption of *judicium*, the controversial ones. It is within these two parts, of which *judicium* is disproportionately longer, that the further division into the law of peace and of war is developed. Each of these subdivisions discusses the following matters:

- (1) *status*;
- (2) *dominium* (*property*);
- (3) *debitum* (*debt*);
- (4) *delictum* (*tort*).

This sequence clearly indicates Zouche's dependence on Roman private law.

Within this organizational framework, more than two hundred varied issues are briefly dealt with. Many do not belong to what is today considered as international law proper. For instance, Zouche treats problems of private international law (e. g., whether a foreigner may inherit real estate situated in the forum) and of municipal public law (e. g., whether one may leave one's country without permission). He is especially interested in the question of succession to the throne, which likewise forms part of municipal public law (more specifically, of constitutional law). In the latter case the alleged connection with the *jus inter gentes* seems to consist merely in the fact that contests over succession to a throne sometimes lead to war. The discernment shown in the choice of the title has not been carried through in the details of the discussion.

Furthermore, the numerous issues discussed in the book are prepared one after the other, without relation in thought or even in phrasing. The most striking peculiarity of Zouche's treatment, however, consists in the fact that the controversial issues are simply set forth as such, with Zouche not venturing to offer a decision—a method which rather sophistically he tries to excuse as "socratic." Certainly one has to take into consideration the tradition of the English common law which attributes to legal writers a much more modest position than does the tradition of the civil law. In fact, there is a general inclination on the part of common-law jurists to shun discussion of unsettled issues, which is considered to be the prerogative of the courts. But even if this fact is fully taken into account, Zouche's reticence remains puzzling, especially since he touches only in a few instances upon matters belonging to the jurisdiction of the courts.

The only theoretical statements by Zouche are found in some

introductory sentences of his book. Here he defines international law (*jus inter gentes*) as a law "which has been accepted by customs conforming to reason among most nations or which has been agreed upon by single nations," to be observed in peace or war. Hence, with him international law is based distinctly on customs—supposing they are reasonable—and on treaties. While Zouche mentions natural law, he considers this law to be knowable from the actual attitudes of men. Of the traditional natural-law doctrine his book shows practically no mark. Characteristically, he has only a few sentences on just war, and in these he takes it for granted that a war may be just on both sides and—differing from Suárez—that "probable reasons" cannot offer sufficient justification for war. Zouche is distinctly a "positivist"—a term that has come to denote those writers on international law who place the emphasis upon man-made law (*jus humanum* or *jus positivum*), to wit, upon treaties and customs. In fact, Zouche is the first real positivist because the philosophy of Gentili, who tended in the same direction, was too confused to admit of definite classification.

Zouche has been blamed because he drew heavily upon ancient Roman law. Such a course was inevitable in the early stages of the science of international law.⁴ Moreover, in England, "civil law" was at that time recognized as the basis of international relations. Still, Zouche, to a greater extent than any of his predecessors including Gentili, takes his cases from the later centuries, and his most respected authority is Grotius. In the

4. Up to the eighteenth century, the highly refined terminology of Roman legal learning was invariably adopted by writers on international law. To them, that terminology not only offered an incomparable tool of juristic precision, but at the same time a vocabulary understood and used all over the western world, including England, which in other respects has denied reception to Roman law. And the process of assimilation was not confined to nomenclature. Wherever possible, writers on international law tried to bolster their teachings by citations from Roman sources. In reality, these sources said virtually nothing about international law. Hence quite indiscriminately Roman rules on private ownership (*dominium*) were relied on for tenets on territorial sovereignty, rules on private contracts were adduced for treaties, rules on *mandatum* for the functions of diplomatic agents, etc. It was only in the eighteenth and more particularly in the nineteenth century that the hold of ancient Roman law on the theory of international law was definitely broken.

study on jurisdiction over delinquent ambassadors he bases his whole inquiry on Grotius' teachings.

Zouche takes, in the history of international law, a distinguished place which has frequently been recognized by writers, perhaps more so on the Continent than in England. In addition to his merits as the author of the first systematic and strictly juridical treatise on international law and the valuable features of his organization of material, his elaboration of a positivist method, which practically parted with the law of nature, marked the dawn, then almost imperceptible, of a new era of the science of international law.

An attitude in some respects similar to Zouche's is found in the German Samuel Rachel (1628-1691).⁵ After a disastrous and poverty-stricken youth he became professor of the Law of Nature and of Nations at the University of Kiel. In the last period of his life he was a diplomat in the service of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. He published a number of legal and philosophical studies. As in Zouche's case, it is a work on international law that has saved Rachel's name from oblivion.⁶

This not very voluminous tract purports a refutation of Pufendorf's "naturalist" tenets. Following Zouche, whom Rachel cites, he asserts that the law of nations (*jus gentium*), which to him is a law *among* nations, consists of customs and treaties. He counters Pufendorf's view of the purely factual character of treaties by pointing to the Peace of Westphalia which had become the cornerstone of international law in a great part of the European Continent. He calls Pufendorf, because of the latter's belittlement of international conventions, "the slave of his hypoth-

5. See Ruehland, *Rachel*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XIII, 43-44; Ruehland, *Samuel Rachel, der Bahnbrecher des voelkerrechtlichen Positivismus*, in *Niemayers Zeitschrift fuer internationales Recht*, vol. XXXIV (1925), 1-112; von Bar, *Introduction to De jurae naturae et gentium dissertationes*, in *Classics of International Law*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1916), vol. II, 7a-16a; von Stintzing and Landsberg, *Geschichte der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1880-1910), vol. III, pt. I, 37-39.

6. *De durae naturae et gentium dissertationes* (Kiel, 1676).

esis," namely, of the engulfment of everything in the law of nature. Customs are conceived by Rachel, who on this score follows Pufendorf, as "tacit" conventions; but he does so apparently in order to prove their binding force, which he considers as axiomatic in the case of conventions.

In a more philosophical vein he expatiates upon the necessity and the actual existence of the law of nations, making the point that diplomatic complaints of injury done are actually being advanced in terms of the law of nations, rather than in terms of the law of nature. Another proof adduced by Rachel in favor of the existence of the law of nations, was his reference to the international circulation of certain coins. It is true that since antiquity many coins were circulated freely outside of the country of origin, but this was merely usage emerging from the scarcity of coins and from the superior qualities of certain foreign coins. Though, under statutes or commercial usage, foreign coins had frequently to be accepted by creditors in payment of debts, this legal situation had nothing to do with international law.

Rachel includes in the law of nations what is today called international courtesy, such as customary ceremonials in the reception of ambassadors or formal expressions of sympathy at the death of a foreign sovereign—but at least he is the first to explain that these canons "have not the same authority and inevitableness" as have other precepts of the law of nations.

Aside from the law of nations Rachel recognizes a law of nature. To this son of a Lutheran minister the law of nature is even more intensely and more directly than to the scholastics a matter of God's will. Rachel accentuates the basic disparity between the law of nature and the law of nations by treating them in separate dissertations. For instance, he assigns to his law of nature the question not only of just causes of war but also, at least in part, of the methods to be used in warfare. The issues of authority to wage a war (*auctoritas principis*) and of formal declarations of war, however, are considered by him to belong to the law of nations. At the bottom of this differentiation one perceives a sound idea—the questions of just cause and, in

the absence of specific customs and treaties, of moderation in warfare are addressed to conscience only. To this extent Rachel suggests the elimination of the just-war doctrine from international law.

Rachel's tenets imply a legal, and even a superior legal, character of his law of nature. It is true that Rachel did not carry over the notion of the superiority of natural law to his law of nations. On the contrary, he admitted, following Grotius, that public and declared wars confer upon each party the right to inflict any injury whatsoever upon the other party. In this crucial respect, then, the justness or unjustness of the cause is irrelevant, so that natural law would not take precedence over the law of nations. Hence, Rachel's theory remains obscure.

THE HEYDAYS OF POSITIVISM

In the science of international law, the nineteenth century marks the flourishing of positivism. This means, first of all, that the conception of the law of nature and the kindred one of just war were to all intents and purposes abandoned—the consummation of a process which had started in the seventeenth century. The science of international law was now definitely conceived of as legal or juridical. It was severed from philosophy, theology, and considerations of policy, all of which had been ingredients of the law of nature. Generally, a clear line of demarcation was drawn between the actual law of nations and the law of nations as it ought to be.

Broad movements of legal and political thought were influential in the advance of the science of international law. The battle pro and contra the law of nature was fought along all the fronts of legal and political science. On the European Continent, where the doctrine of the law of nature had won such notable triumphs, it not only was defeated but fell into utter disrepute. The speculative methods of the natural-law school harmonized but little with the intellectual climate of a century thoroughly permeated with scientific materialism. In international law, too, theories had to be based upon the solid foundation of scientific facts.

In the universities the time-honored chairs and courses on the Law of Nature and of Nations disappeared gradually. The law of nations became an independent object of academic study, though sometimes confounded with diplomacy. The teaching of the subject began to be transferred to the law faculties whereas in the earlier tradition the law of nature and of nations had been allocated to the philosophical faculties. The earlier tradition was maintained—even during the twentieth century—in the United States, where international law was thought of as being outside the professional objectives of the law schools.

A first attempt at reorientation, with an eye to international law, was made by John Austin (1798-1859),⁷ the founder of the English analytical school of jurisprudence. Following Hobbes, Austin defined the "law properly so-called"—in his opinion the only pertinent object of jurisprudence—as the command by a sovereign to persons subject to him, the essence of the sovereign's supremacy consisting in his ability to enforce obedience. Consequently, international law was not "law properly so-called," since there is above states no superior with the authority and power to enforce obedience to his commands. Austin therefore classified international law as a non-law, as "positive morality" together with such rules as those of honor and of fashion. The rules of "positive morality" were all "imposed by general opinion of any class of society," and, especially, international law by the opinion of the large society formed of various nations. International law, then, "consists of opinions and sentiments current among nations generally." However, Austin is aware of the English notion that the law of

7. See Cohen, *Austin*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. II, 317-318. On Austin's theories generally, see Mill, *Dissertations and Discussions*, 3 vols. (London, 1859-1875), vol. III, no. 7; Maine, *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (London, 1875), no. 12; Roguin, *La science juridique pure*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1923), vol. I; Somlò, *Juristische Grundlehre* (Leipzig, 1917), § 11; Affalter, *Zur Normentheorie*, in *Archiv fuer oeffentliches Recht*, vol. XIII (1908), 361-418; Brown, *The Austinian Theory of Law* (London, 1906). On Austin's view on international law, see Dewey, *Austin's Theory of Sovereignty*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. IX (1894), 31-52; Walz, *Wesen des Voelkerrechts und Kritik der Voelkerrechtsleugner* (Berlin, 1930), 56, 184.

nations is "the law of the land." He, therefore, admits that international law becomes a "law properly so-called," namely, municipal law, to the extent that its rules have been adopted by the courts or legislatures of a given country.

Inasmuch as Austin was opposed to natural law he was a positivist, though not in the manner of Zouche who searched for the actual rules of the international community. In such matters Austin was not interested at all. He may rather be linked to Rachel, the theoretician of positivism. However, while Rachel tried to establish the independence of international law from natural law and religion, Austin was principally concerned with the problem whether international law is real law at all. To Austin its relation to the law of nature and to religion was an incidental and secondary point. By answering the question of the legal character of international law in the negative, he found himself in accord with Hobbes; yet he was not, as was the latter, a "denier" of the law of nations. In Hobbes' view, there was nothing but the play of brutal instincts and selfish interests among nations. Austin in no way questioned the existence or the value or efficacy of those rules which are generally denominated by the law of nations. His problem was one of analysis or classification—it was juridical rather than philosophical.

Austin's work was impaired by personal difficulties. With little ability or inclination to differentiate the more important from the less important, he was apt to drift into overwork and confusion; sad failures in his profession and growing personal dissatisfaction and inhibitions followed. He published his fundamental views in his early forties,⁸ but, through the nearly three decades of his later life, he did not succeed in giving his system a coherent and unified shape. His lectures on jurisprudence were posthumously compiled and edited from various materials left by him.⁹ The book is therefore uneven and repetitious; it is also inordinately discursive and dry. Yet, up to the present time his theories have held a distinguished place in the literature of international law and political science. Of course, his lump-

8. *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined* (London, 1832).

9. *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (London, 1869).

ing together of international law, honor, and fashion did not meet with approval—evidently, international law, even if it is not law in the Austinian sense, exhibits an aptitude for juridical treatment which distinguishes it from fashion and honor. However, Austin's basic view, to wit, that international law, though an actual factor in international relations, is a law in name only, raised a fundamental problem on which scholars are still far from having arrived at a *communis opinio*.

While Austin's disquisition was essentially notional in nature and motivated by theoretical interests, another doctrine of international law, originating two decades later in Italy, drew its inspiration from political life. We refer to the nationality theory, first advanced by Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (1817-1888)¹⁰ in an inaugural lecture at the University of Turin in 1851.¹¹ After the idea of a nation unified in a state had won shape and realization in the French Revolution, it had become a powerful ferment in subsequent revolutionary movements, which strove to overcome political segregation and backward legitimistic systems. Nowhere else did the idea of a nation embodied in a unified polity exert more fascination and power than in Italy where the calamity of territorial dismemberment was greatly aggravated because of the domination of Lombardy and Venice by a foreign power, Austria. From this state of things there evolved a revolutionary political program to the effect that all Italians were to be united in one state free from any foreign domination. Since this great goal could be attained only through the Italian people themselves by crushing the resistance of governments whose very existence depended on the preservation of political disunity, the Italian

10. See Levi, *Mancini*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. X, 84; Fusinato, *Il principio della scuola italiana nel diritto pubblico internazionale* (Macerata, 1884); Fusinato, *Il principio della scuola italiana nel diritto privato internazionale* (Bologna, 1885); Carle, *Pasquale Stanislao Mancini e la teoria psychologica del sentimento nazionale*, in *R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche: Memorie*, 4th ser., vol. VI (1889), 548-567; Ruffini, *Nel centenario della nascita del Pasquale Stanislao Mancini*, in *Nuova antologia*, 6th ser., vol. CLXXXVIII (1917, Supplement to issue of March 16); Ruffini, *Il principio di nazionalità in Giuseppe Mazzini e in Pasquale Stanislao Mancini*, in *L'insegnamento di Mazzini* (Milan, 1917), 17-58.

11. *Della nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti*. See also, *Diritto internazionale: prelezioni* (Naples, 1873).

movement for unification assumed a distinctly liberal and democratic tendency which, internationally, took on a pronounced cosmopolitan color.

While such trends are also found in other modern revolutions, their transmutation into a legal doctrine was specifically Italian and may be related to a particular Italian propensity, rooted in a great tradition, for juridical formulae. According to Mancini, international law is the law prevailing among the nations, that is, in his opinion, among communities politically united by natural and historical factors—territory, race, language, and so forth—and, most important of all, by the consciousness of their common nationality. Such nations, Mancini holds, are entitled under international law to organize into states and to live independent of, and equal to, other nations. This idea rapidly captured Italian thought, but before long it was found to be defective because of the impossibility of accepting nations rather than states as the subjects of international relations, and because of the extreme difficulty of applying Mancini's vague definition of a nation to the tremendous variety of human groups.

While the nineteenth century did not equal the preceding centuries in the production of fundamental doctrines, it was far more proficient in the organization and systematization of knowledge on international law. The vehicles of this development were primarily systematic treatises.

The most successful work of this kind was a volume of moderate size,¹² in fact, a textbook, by August Wilhelm Heffter (1796-1880), professor at Berlin.¹³ The book went through eight editions (two of them posthumous, 1881 and 1888). There appeared no less than four French editions. The book was further translated into Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Spanish. It has frequently been cited also by English and American authors.

12. *Das europäische Voelkerrecht der Gegenwart auf den bisherigen Grundlagen* (Berlin, 1844).

13. See Fleischmann, Heffter, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. VIII, 311; Rivier, Heffter, in *Handbuch des Voelkerrechts*, vol. I (Berlin, 1885), 486-488; von Stintzing and Landsberg, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pt. II, 298-300, 392, 650-652.

Heffter wrote his treatise in his late forties, when he had already gained great renown as a teacher and writer on civil law and as an appellate judge. The treatise exhibits its kinship with the older school of thought by a propensity for applying private-law concepts to international relations. Yet, it is a mature work of balanced judgment and of precise and succinct presentation. Dismissing the law of nature without much ado, the book exemplifies the positivism of the nineteenth century. Nor is there a philosophical view in it except for a few somewhat extrinsic pronouncements of Hegelian parentage. The treatment which is strictly juridical and limited to international law, evinces a progressive spirit. Thus Heffter, rejecting the earlier hybrid notion of conquest, paved the way for a more humane and fairer conception of the occupant's power over enemy territory by bringing into relief the distinction between real acquisition and military occupation of territory.

France, during the nineteenth century, devoted herself even more than did Germany to the cultivation of the science of international law, but this fact is inadequately reflected by systematic treatises.

The most conspicuous French work of this type was written by Pradier-Fodéré, comprising more than eight thousand pages, though the last part was not completed.¹⁴ Unlike Heffter's book, the work discusses, in addition to the existent law, the law as it ought to be, and it includes lengthy discussions on private international law. Throughout the text copious excerpts from the opinions of writers, both early and modern, are inserted. However, the author is conversant practically only with sources available in French, a basis much too narrow for his enterprise. Nor did he advance remarkably new views. Despite his formidable effort, his treatise—the longest ever written on international law—has gained little authority in France or elsewhere.

Italy's representative work of the period, that of Pasquale Fiore (1837-1910),¹⁵ was more successful—it went into three editions

14. *Droit international public européen et américain*, 8 vols. (1885-1906, the last volume posthumous).

15. *Trattato di nuovo diritto internazionale pubblico*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1865).

and was translated into French and Spanish.¹⁶ Still its value has been questioned for various reasons, the main one being that it is too much given to elaborate disquisitions on familiar controversies of a highly academic character, and does not offer adequate factual information. The markedly abstract and diffuse treatment is typical of Italian juridical learning of the nineteenth and, to a great extent, of the twentieth century.

Russia entered the European literature on international law in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Russian situation differed from that of the other continental countries, not simply because Russia had joined the family of nations only at a relatively late date but because the scholastic teachings on the law of nature and on just war, in which the doctrine of the law of nations originated, had no validity in the domain of the Orthodox Church. Hence, Russian thought lacked the centuries-old tradition of the European countries in matters of international law. Grotius' *De jure belli ac pacis* was never translated into Russian except for extracts published in 1909,¹⁷ and until 1880 the only systematic treatise on international law translated into Russian was the one written in 1819 by the German Klueber.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century some minor studies on international law were published by Russian writers.¹⁹

The Livonian Fedor Fedorovich de Martens (1845-1909)²⁰

16. See Borchard, *Fiore*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. VI, 254-255; Marzano, *Pasquale Fiore* (Bari, 1923); Castellano, *Pasquale Fiore*, in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. IX (1915), 141-151; Mueller, *Die Stellung des Menschen im Voelkerrecht nach der Theorie Pascal Fiores* (Lucerne, 1921).

17. A short outline of Grotius' teachings was given by Nevolin in *Encyclopediya Zakonovedenia* (Encyclopedia of Jurisprudence) (Kiev, 1839). Some parts of *De jure belli ac pacis* were translated by Gorovtsev in *Mezhdunarodnoe Pravo: Izbrannaya Literatura* (International Law: Selected Literature) (St. Petersburg, 1909).

18. Translated in 1828, See Kamarowski, *De la litterature contemporaine du droit international en Russie*, in *Revue de droit international*, vol. VIII (1876), 386n.

19. See Kamarowski, *op. cit.*, 385 ff.

20. See Akzin, *Martens*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. X, 161; Rivier, *Literaturhistorische Uebersicht der Systeme und Theorien des Voelkerrechts seit Grotius*, in *op. cit.*, vol. I, 521-523; Lammasch, *Friedrich von Martens und der Berliner Vertrag*, in *Zeitschrift fuer das Privat- und oeffentliche Recht der Gegenwart*, vol. XI (1884), 405-422; Kamarowski, *Frederic de Martens*, in *Institut de Droit International: Annuaire*, vol. XXIII (1910), 538-543.

published the first systematic treatise on the law of nations in Russian.²¹ De Martens, a professor at the University of St. Petersburg, at the same time occupied a high position in the Russian Foreign Office. In his later years he acted repeatedly as a Russian delegate to international conferences and distinguished himself in international arbitration.²²

In method de Martens' treatise follows the continental and, more specifically, the German pattern, but it exhibits a spirit of its own. He places much emphasis upon the necessary homogeneity of domestic and foreign policy of each particular state—a legally most irrelevant point, which, however, suggests a political approach to the subject matter of his treatise. By far the greater part of the work, comprising such disparate topics as diplomatic and consular agencies, international protection of patents and copyrights, private international law, and warfare (*sic*), is represented by de Martens as an inquiry into "international administration,"²³ the guiding star of which he asserts is "public utility." These and other features reflect a rather uninspired and inadequate conception of international law. De Martens' personal prominence as well as his quality as the outstanding Russian writer on international law may account for a literary success far beyond the intrinsic qualities of his work—it went through five Russian editions and was translated into German, French, Spanish, Serbian, Chinese and Japanese.

Among other authors following the continental European—civil-law—line, an important position was occupied by the Argen-

21. *Sovremenoе mezhdunarodnoe pravo tsivilizovannikh narodov*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1882-1883); later editions expanded to three vols. French edition: *Traité de droit international*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1883-1887). German edition: *Volkerrecht, das Recht der civilisierten Staaten*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1883-1886).

22. As in the grave dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundaries of British Guiana and Venezuela, settled in 1897. See Cleveland, *The Venezuelan Boundary Controversy* (Princeton, 1913).

23. De Martens refers to Lorenz von Stein (1815-1890), the distinguished German social philosopher and professor at Vienna, who had set forth the notion of "international administration"—*Einige Bemerkungen ueber das internationale Verwaltungsrecht*, in *Schmollers Jahrbuch fuer Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft* (1882), 395, 431. Still, with von Stein the notion had a much narrower and more acceptable meaning.

tinian Carlos Calvo (1824-1906).²⁴ His book²⁵ published in Spanish and later in French, became one of the most influential international treatises of the century. It reached its fifth and last edition in 1896, when it had grown from the original two to six volumes. It was also translated into Chinese.

His work was by no means remarkable from the viewpoint of legal analysis, but it presented in a systematic form a formidable array of valuable source material (European and American) and historic statements. It filled a gap inasmuch as it set forth the Latin American point of view, and its authority was greatly augmented by the author's personal reputation as a statesman.

A type of book different from the treatises so far reviewed was that of Johann Caspar Bluntschli (1808-1881),²⁶ a tersely worded codification with explanatory notes.²⁷ While there had been earlier private attempts at codification of international law, that of Bluntschli was marked by a rather puzzling peculiarity: in view of the imperfections of the law of nations, he deliberately filled the gap by what he considered the commendable view, without drawing the necessary line of demarcation between law and proposal. Nevertheless, his book was tremendously successful—it ran to three German and four French editions, and there were translations into Hungarian, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese.

The Anglo-American treatises to which we now turn form a group distinctly separate from those based on the "civil-law" tradition. The English and American writers were much less interested in abstract theory and much more in practical questions.

24. See De Bustamante, *Calvo*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. III, 153; Rivier, *Calvo*, in *op. cit.*, vol. I, 514-516; Carbia, *Historia de la historiografía argentina*, vol. I (La Plata, 1925), 149-151; de Peralta, *Charles Calvo*, in *Institut de Droit International: Annuaire*, vol. XXI (1906), 486-491.

25. *Derecho internacional teórico y práctico de Europa y América*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1868).

26. See Brinkman, *Bluntschli*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. II, 606; von Kronau, *Bluntschli*, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. XLVII, 29-39.

27. *Das moderne Voelkerrecht der civilisierten Staaten als Rechtsbuch dargestellt* (Noerdlingen, 1868).

In this respect they stressed the English and American material which was not easily available to continental jurists. This diversity entailed another of still greater importance. The reliance of English and American writers on court decisions was not and could not be matched by continental writers. Under civil-law principles, matters relating to public law were excluded from the jurisdiction of the ordinary law courts to a far greater extent than under the common-law principles. Moreover, in civil-law countries, and especially so in Central Europe, court authority was not buttressed by the old and firm tradition characteristic of Anglo-Saxon political thought. In Germany, for instance, collections of court decisions did not make their appearance until virtually the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and only in its very last decades did decisions of the highest courts begin slowly to find their place in learned juristic treatises. On this score, therefore, Anglo-Saxon literature on international law had an advantage.

The earliest systematic treatise on international law of the Anglo-American group was by Henry Wheaton (1785-1848).²⁸ He served the United States for almost two decades as a diplomat, finally as Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin. Like Grotius, he employed the leisure left him by diplomatic obligations for extensive scholarly studies which included, in addition to his treatise, a comprehensive tractate on the history of the law of nations.²⁹

His European studies and experiences made him an intermediary between the continental and the Anglo-Saxon school of thought on international law. As a matter of fact, Wheaton's treatise rests principally on European, and particularly on German learning, though Wheaton is also influenced by Austin. The important thing is that for the first time English and American materials were included on a large scale in the systematic discussion of international law—the emphasis is upon diplomatic actions, cases, and other historical actions. Wheaton's treatise had a considerable and long-lasting influence. It has frequently

28. *Elements of International Law* (Philadelphia, 1836).

29. *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America* (New York, 1845).

been cited in American court decisions and state papers. No less than fifteen American and English editions (twelve of them posthumous, the last one in 1944), have been published. There were, furthermore, translations into French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese.

Another line of American literary development is that taken by Wharton.³⁰ The title of his work, which follows a careful drawn system, is self-explanatory and reveals a certain deficiency in the omission of state-court decisions. The publication of the work was ordered by Act of Congress, providing a great number of copies for the use of the government and Congress. While such a collection was primarily important for the United States itself, which, perhaps more than any other country, favors in international actions the element of tradition, it was valuable for other countries as a source of information on the viewpoint of a great nation. Still, the work may also be taken as indicative of a somewhat "isolationist" point of view, which has so greatly influenced American thought on international law.

Among the English treatises of the century, the outstanding work is that of Sir Robert Phillimore,³¹ which ran to three editions. The treatise is written in the typical common-law fashion. The author, a judge in high position, presents his opinions on the basis of a careful and well-documented argument. Statesmanlike, he pays, in an introductory chapter, his respects to the law of nature, even recognizing its divine character, but he makes no use of it. In fact, he is a typical positivist whose real concern is confined to the actual controversies laid before statesmen, diplomats, and international jurists. He may also be counted in the nationalist school of thought inasmuch as the book predominantly deals with occurrences in the area of English foreign relations. However, the author is well conversant with continental learning on the subject. An unusual feature, due to a personal preoccupation of the author, is a lengthy chapter on the "Status of Spiritual Powers," such as the papacy. As in

30. *A Digest of the International Law of the United States: Taken from Documents Issued by Presidents and Secretaries of State, and from Decisions of Federal Courts and Opinions of Attorneys General*, 3 vols. (Washington, 1886).

31. *Commentaries upon International Law*, 4 vols. (London, 1854-1861).

the case of Pradier-Fodéré, the work is heavily padded with copious quotations taken, however, not from writers but from English and sometimes American state papers, government speeches, and cases. The treatise is the representative English work of the century. Probably because of its distinctly insular flavor, it has not been translated into any foreign language, but it has been unanimously praised by representative continental writers for its scholarly qualities.

In contrast to Phillimore's somewhat old-fashioned manner, the book by William Edward Hall (1835-1894)³² is written in a highly artistic style. Hall approaches his subject pragmatically and with great acumen, relating his argument closely to the rational basis of the rules under consideration. Apparently a person of strong temperament, he was not without bias either in his opinions or in his selection of topics. For instance, expecting little from international arbitration, he allowed this important topic only a couple of the seven hundred and sixty-seven pages which form the text of the fourth edition (1895), the last revised by the author himself. There are also other gaps, and Hall's documentation is fragmentary. However, the book was and has remained outstanding as a most readable and spirited exposition of the law of nations. In England the reception was so favorable that eight editions (four of them posthumous, the last one in 1924) proved necessary. The treatise won renown also in the United States and in the Far East.

In the nineteenth century treatises³³ form the core of learning on international law. Monographs continued to appear but during the greater part of the century their number was not considerable.

A new type of literature was added in 1869, when the first

32. *A Treatise on International Law* (Oxford, 1880).

33. Complete lists of these treatises are found in Oppenheim-Lauerpacht, *International Law*, 2 vols. (6th ed., London, 1940); von Liszt, *Das Voelkerrecht systematisch dargestellt* (12th ed., Berlin, 1925), and *Le droit international* (Paris, 1927); and similar works, as well as in Rivier, *Literarhistorische Uebersicht*. . . . (see n. 20).

periodical primarily dedicated to international law was founded, published at Brussels and international as to editors and collaborators. It held a leading position in the field until the outbreak of World War II. The foundation of this periodical was followed in 1873 by the establishment of a learned society, the *Institut de Droit International*, which was convoked in Ghent and administered from Belgium. While Mancini and Bluntschli belonged to its founders and, in the course of time, many outstanding scholars were co-opted as members, the actual achievements of the society were not impressive. Belgium's special role in this field was, of course, connected with her guaranteed neutrality.

Paralleling the general development, the scientific work on international law shifted more and more to the jurists, but the jurists never won exclusive dominance. Diplomats, high Army and Navy officers, theologians, and other persons without specific technical training in law participated to no small extent in the scientific discussion of problems of international law. One textbook on the subject was written by an American general,³⁴ and in the present century another by an American admiral.³⁵ In the European scene the links of the subject to diplomacy and military affairs also account for the strikingly large part played by the nobility in the literature on international law.

THE DECLINE OF POSITIVISM

In the doctrine of international law during the first four decades of the twentieth century, the most notable feature has been the emergence of a growing dissatisfaction with the positivism of the past century. Much was now said anew in favor of the law of nature. However, this movement was actually greatly limited in scope. Leaving aside the writings of Catholic scholars, there was almost no call for a law of nature, divine or not, in the sense of a self-contained body of norms, as distinguished from a body of "human," "positive," or "vol-

34. Halleck, *International Law* (New York, 1861).

35. Stockton, *A Manual of International Law* (New York, 1914).

unitary" norms not derivable from "nature."³⁶ This bipartition, so characteristic of the scholastic and the Grotian school of thought, was no longer considered acceptable under modern conditions. Nor was there any widespread intention to confound law and morality in the manner of the old natural-law school.

The new invocation of the natural law simply expressed the growing awareness of the fact that treaties and customs cannot tell the whole story of international law, and that a decision on controversial issues can be found only by a process of reasoning which, in addition to the given positive material, includes within certain limits consideration of justice and equity. Even in the interpretation of a treaty—no less than in the interpretation of a private contract—such considerations are indispensable indeed, though in any case they must be controlled by juristic principles. The recognition of the role of "reason" in the treatment of the positive material is by no means new—it is found as early as Bynkershoek (1673-1743)—but the re-emphasis upon the cogitative aspect of international law was most salutary. Positivism, like the cognate scientific materialism of the nineteenth century, had been too crude, too uncompromising. Both had brought about certain lasting progress, but they were to be modified. Positivism still dominated the science of international law during the period, but it was now an "enlightened" positivism.

The just-war doctrine, too, regained some ground. A remnant of it had always persisted—the familiar conception that war is the proper means of enforcing an international right, that war is a kind of "forced execution." The connection between this view and the just-war doctrine, it is true, had been more or less subconscious. The old doctrine, however, cropped out again as the result of World War I. A keen feeling that the just cause had won, and a desire to punish those responsible for the outbreak of the war lead quite naturally to a revival of the just-war idea. The same thing happened after World War II,

36. However, the neo-scholastic line of ideas was closely followed by Le Fur, *La théorie du droit naturel depuis le XVII^e siècle*, in *Académie de droit international: Recueil des Cours*, XVII (1927).

and then in a much more violent way, because of the unprecedented crimes of the Hitler regime.

Still, the resurgence of the just-war notion did not mean the revival of the old doctrine that the belligerent who considered his cause to be just and the cause of his adversary to be unjust was exempt from the strictest observance of the rules of warfare with regard to prisoners of war, or to wounded and sick enemies, or with regard to the keeping of military agreements with the enemy. Only very few writers maintained that the rights and duties of the neutrals should vary under international law, depending upon their belief or disbelief in the justness of the cause of one or the other belligerent. All this, however, had been consequences of the just-war doctrine.

During and after World War I, the invocation of the just-war doctrine implied simply the call for punishment of the vanquished condemned as unrighteous by public opinion in the victorious, and in many neutral, countries. This was a much narrower proposition than the old doctrine. While we are not concerned with World War II and its aftermath—these events are too near and too overwhelming to allow a fair appraisal at this time—, it may be mentioned that the violation of the Kellogg Pact through German and Japanese aggression created to some extent a different legal aspect for the indictment of those held responsible for the outbreak of the war.

The divergence between the Anglo-American and the continental school of international law did not vanish during the period. In its first decade it was perhaps even more accentuated than in the nineteenth century. Reliance on domestic cases and state acts became the mark of Anglo-American learning to a still higher degree, an attitude undoubtedly favoring the objective juridical approach, but also narrowing the outlook and conducive to an obliteration of the border line between municipal and international law. That this process was prevalent in the United States is suggested by the title of Charles Cheney Hyde's outstanding treatise³⁷ of the American school. In a characteristic

37. *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied by the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1922); 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Boston, 1945).

way, the Anglo-American conception appeared in the numerous "casebooks," a type of publication unknown in other countries. The casebooks were practically built on English and American cases, the extreme instance being a Canadian casebook on international law based primarily on Canadian cases.

However, in the last decades a trend toward a broader approach was rapidly growing (and might before long have become dominant) in the United States as well as in England. In the vast scholarly literature of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice, for instance, the English and American authors were clearly in the fore.³⁸ In continental writings case law was definitely less thoroughly discussed, and treaty law perhaps more so, than in Anglo-American literature. The traditional emphasis of continental learning on the theoretical aspects of the subject persisted. It accounts for a number of attempts to probe afresh and in modern spirit into the fundamentals of the law of nations.

The new inquiries all converge on the task of explaining in strictly scientific terms, that is, without speculative hypotheses and particularly without resort to natural law, the existence and effectiveness of international law. Efforts along this line had started as early as the nineteenth century.³⁹

Apart from Austin, who had not been very successful in this respect, Georg Jellinek (1851-1911), Professor of Public Law at Heidelberg,⁴⁰ had tried to explain the binding force of inter-

38. See Wright, *Research in International Law since the War* (Washington, 1930).

39. There are several excellent studies on this movement. See, in particular: Lauterpacht, *The Function of Law in the International Community* (Oxford, 1933); Brierly, *Le Fondement du caractère obligatoire en droit international*, in *Académie de droit international: Recueil des Cours*, XXIII (1928); Schiffer, *Die Lehre vom Pramat des Voelkerrechts in der neueren Literatur* (Berlin, 1937); Walz, *Voelkerrecht und Staatliches Recht* (Berlin, 1933).

40. See Heller, Jellinek, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. VIII, 379; Zweig, Jellinek, in *Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutscher Nekrolog*, vol. XVI (Berlin, 1914), 147-154; Hert, Jellinek, in *Staatslexikon*, vol. II (5th ed., Freiburg i. Br., 1927), 1410-1416; Lukas, Jellinek, in *Neue Oesterreichische Biographie*, vol. VII (Vienna, 1931), 147-152; Nelson, *Die Rechtswissenschaft ohne Recht* (Leipzig,

national law by the hypothesis⁴¹ that the sovereign state, through entering into a legal relation with another state, subjected itself to international law by an act of "self-limitation," from which the state may disengage itself at any time without violation of the law. This was the familiar theory of sovereignty obfuscated by the legally meaningless idea of self-limitation.

More important was the work of another German scholar, Karl Heinrich Triepel.⁴² According to Triepel, international law and municipal law are fundamentally different as to their bases and their sources. International law regulates relations between states, whereas municipal law is concerned with the relations between individuals (private law) or between individuals and the state itself (public municipal law). While municipal law is derived from the will of the particular state, international law finds its source in the common will of the states. International law and municipal law are situated on different planes, as it were. An international rule, as such, has just as little effect in municipal law as a municipal rule in international law. To give the international rule effect in municipal law, especially in respect to the courts, it must be transformed into a rule of municipal law by an act of national legislation; only thereafter are the courts bound to apply it.

This is the "dualist" doctrine of international law, which is already suggested by Austin's teachings and is more in accord with the state practice than any other doctrine. It has become predominant among writers on international law and accounts for the considerable success of Triepel's monograph, which, in 1913, was translated into Italian, and in 1920, under the auspices of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, into French. The dates of the translations, in themselves, suggest the enduring interest in this study, which is amply documented by materials from state practice.

1917), ch. I; Kelsen, *Hauptprobleme der Staatsrechtslehre* (2nd ed., Tuebingen, 1923), 482-491; Emerson, *State and Sovereignty in Modern Germany* (New Haven, 1928), 59-63, 71-73, 83-85, 107-111.

41. *Die rechtliche Natur der Staatenverträge* (Vienna, 1880).

42. *Volkerrecht und Landesrecht* (Leipzig, 1899). French edition: *Droit international et droit interne* (Paris-Oxford, 1920).

Triepel was less fortunate in his analysis of international law itself. The latter rests, according to Triepel, on "agreements" by which the states laid down identical rules to be observed by all of them—that is, international law rests on what is generally called "law-making" agreements, except that Triepel, like Pufendorf and Rachel, includes customs as "tacit" agreements. Hence, an international rule, based, as it is, on the "common will" of the states, cannot be changed unilaterally—in other words, it is binding. But why should the consensus of the states be irreversible for each particular state? This issue Triepel declares to be non-juridical and, therefore, outside the orbit of his discussion. Regardless of whether or not legal science deserves this *testimonium paupertatis*, Triepel leaves the cardinal question unanswered.

THE RISE OF MONISM

This question, however, was attacked in the twentieth century. The new discussion was focused on the notion of sovereignty. How can a sovereign state, with nothing above it, be bound by international law. It was this relationship to the problem of sovereignty that gave the twentieth-century inquiry into the fundamentals of international law its incentive and color. In most countries, democrats and socialists, and even liberals, had, at least in the past, suffered persecution from the state authorities. Hence, in political life and science, a strong aversion to state omnipotence, as epitomized in state sovereignty, evolved and was fomented by the pacifist movement that made sovereignty responsible for the horrors of war. In this setting, new doctrines emerged which attacked the notion of sovereignty at its very roots. More particularly, attempts were made to sever the law from the state ideologically, with the higher dignity in the law. The role of the state in the formation of the law came, therefore, to be belittled in one way or another.

The controversy, with its political implications, far transcended international law. Here we are concerned only with its international-law aspects. To this extent, the theories which discarded the element of sovereignty in the making of the law, were bound

to clash with the "dualist" conception, inasmuch as the latter placed the emphasis on the will of the state. The anti-sovereignty doctrines tended, therefore, to replace the "dualist" by a "monistic" conception which, representing international law and national law as essentially homogeneous, sought to establish a common source for them.

The outstanding authors of the monistic school of thought were the Dutchman Hugo Krabbe (1859-1936), the Frenchman Léon Duguit (1859-1929), and the Austrian Hans Kelsen (1883-). Anglo-Saxon jurists participated little in the discussion. Only in part can this fact be attributed to their pragmatic tradition. The more favorable political experiences of the Anglo-Saxon countries, the absence in the common law of the conception of an absolute supreme power, and the prudently limited recognition of international law as the "law of the land" lessened the need for a basic reorientation.

Krabbe conceived his doctrine⁴³ prior to World War I. According to him, states were originally the product of sheer command and force on the part of the sovereign, but under the modern idea of the state, this "state sovereignty" pure and simple is giving way to the dominion of *spiritually* compelling norms, that is, to the "sovereignty of the law." Law is nothing external like the power of the sovereign of old—it springs from the sense or consciousness of right which is an innate psychological quality of man, like the moral sense, the religious sense, and so on. Wherever a state is so organized that the popular assembly functions as the source of "law," and particularly under the republican or parliamentary form of government, the sovereignty of the law emerges, since the significance of the popular assembly lies in the nation's sense of right. Acts of state are legitimate and valid only to the extent that they conform to the rule of law, a notion well known from the natural-law doctrine. The latter is, however, rejected by Krabbe.

International law, Krabbe asserts, comes into existence when

43. *Die moderne Staatsidee* (Tuebingen, 1919), compiled from earlier publications. English edition: *The Modern Idea of the State* (New York, 1922). See also his *L'idée moderne de l'état*, in *Académie de droit international: Recueil des Cours*, XIII (1926).

people from different states, under the impact of external events, widen their sense of right so as to include international relations. The resulting rules of international law constitute real law. Their source is not the will of the states—demise of state sovereignty!—but the consciousness of law felt by those individuals whose interests are affected by the rule or who, as members of the government, judges, and so forth, are constitutionally called upon to take care of those interests. (Here, surreptitiously, the state creeps in.) National law and international law, therefore, have essentially the same quality—the monistic thesis!—and both are superior to state rule as such. Nevertheless, international law, being the law of the larger community, takes precedence over the national law. In fact, Krabbe visualizes an already existing evolution that will finally bring about the rise of the “world state” founded upon popular representation and able to enforce a world-wide sense of right in every field. Krabbe thus stands not only for the monistic theory but for the supremacy of international law (called by him “supranational law”), which with him takes on a Messianic tone.

Duguit,⁴⁴ writing after World War I and, therefore, less enthusiastic, starts from premises⁴⁵ similar to Krabbe's. He, too, dissociates the law from the state and derives the law from psychological faculties of the individual. With regard to the

44. See Bonnard, *Duguit*, in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. V, 272; Bonnard, Léon Duguit, in *Revue du droit publique et de la science politique*, vol. XLVI (1929), 5-51; Lucien-Brun, *Une conception moderne du droit*, in *Archives de Philosophie*, vol. IV (1927), no. 3; Jardon, *Las teorías políticas de Duguit* (Madrid, 1919); Eisenmann, *Deux théoriciens du droit: Duguit et Hauriou*, in *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, vol. CX (1930) 231-279; Matthews, *A Recent Development in Political Theory*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. XXIV (1909), 284-295; Elliott, *The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics* (New York, 1928); Willoughby, *The Theories of Duguit*, in his *The Ethical Basis of Political Authority* (New York, 1930), ch. XXI; Gidynski, *Duguit's Sociological Approach to the Bases of International Law*, in *Iowa Law Review*, vol. XXXVI (1946); Scelle, *La doctrine de Léon Duguit et les fondements du droit des gens*, in *Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique* (Paris, 1932).

45. *Traité de droit constitutionnel*, 3rd ed., 5 vols. (Paris, 1927-1930). See also his *L'état, le droit objectif et la loi positive* (Paris, 1903); *Le droit social, le droit individuel et la transformation de l'état* (Paris, 1908); *The Law and the State*, in *Harvard Law Review*, vol. XXXI (1917-1918), 1-185; *Objective Law*, in *Columbia Law Review*, XX (1920), 817-912.

state, Duguit takes a radical view which is remarkably antithetical to Hobbe's teachings. To Duguit, the so-called state is merely a group of individuals living in the same territory and kept together through physical, moral, religious, economic, or other compulsion, exerted by the governing against the governed. The legal norm has a different source. It flows from the sentiment of solidarity, a "social fact" conducive to "social norms," that are followed because otherwise the social group could not exist. The social norm is primarily economic or moral in nature but it assumes legal character when the members of the group, unanimously or almost unanimously, feel that the violation of the norm justifies the use of force in order to secure its observance.

The legal norms, then, are the crucial ones, characterized as they are by the urge toward enforcement. In this system, as in Krabbe's, only individuals participate in the formation of the law, and the law being supreme, the state possesses no sovereignty. Duguit's theory carries over then to the genesis of international law. He admits that the individuals who bring international law into existence are mainly the "governing," but this does not alter his basic assumption that international norms are engendered by the urge of individuals toward "solidary" action. He, therefore, arrives at the monistic view by way of sociological inquiry, whereas with Krabbe the accent is on the ethical or political aspects of the processes in which the law allegedly originates. Duguit, too, cavils at the term, "international." He prefers "intersocial," a phraseology barring the customary association of the term "international" with states, and emphasizing the "social-fact" character of the basis of international law. The supremacy of international law is not asserted by Duguit, nor does he believe in the necessary evolution toward a universal empire.

Duguit's teachings, far excelling Krabbe's in acumen and refinement, have won wide attention and agreement. Their influence upon legal and philosophical thought has been considerable.

In contrast to both Krabbe and Duguit, Kelsen excludes from his scrutiny any moral, psychological, sociological, or political data.⁴⁶ He has built up a "pure theory of law" (*reine Rechts-*

46. *Das Problem der Souveraenitaet und die Theorie des Voelkerrechts* (Tue-

(*Lehre*) designed to show and to explain in strictly juridical terms the immanent logical relations of legal norms. In his system the analysis of the state is likewise a focal point. According to Kelsen, "state" is but one of the personifications, like God, soul, and many others, to which the human mind resorts in an effort to conceive a multitude of relations centering on a definite point. The mind frames them like emanations from a person endowed with a will, after the model of the human ego. Actually, the state, Kelsen holds, is a system of legal norms—state and law coincide.

While, it is true, Kelsen tries to disprove the sovereignty of the state, his argument runs diametrically opposite to those of Krabbe and Duguit.

Within the various norms, a particular and pre-eminent role is attributed by him to the norms of international law. They are found at the top of the hierarchy of norms. Starting from the bottom of this hierarchy, we find judgments or administrative acts that are binding because it is so prescribed by statutes or customs. Statutes and customs, in their turn, must be obeyed because it is so ordered by the constitution. And the constitution is binding, according to Kelsen, by virtue of international law which delegates its supreme legal power to a political community once the latter exhibits all the characteristics of a state, as required by international law. This, then, is the supremacy of international law in its full glory.

In Kelsen's conception monism is not limited to the homogeneity of national law and international law. It implies the unity of the law of the whole world, since all the national legal systems have their common root in international law. The states being nothing but law, the democratic idea of "government by law" is made the rule of the world. Hence, in a novel form and in a modern spirit, the present existence of a *civitas maxima* is asserted by Kelsen in a far more comprehensive sense than was ever dared by Christian Wolff (1676-1756).⁴⁷

bingen, 1920); *Reine Rechtslehre* (Tuebingen, 1928); *Peace and Law in International Relations* (Cambridge, 1942); *Peace Through Law* (Chapel Hill, 1944); *General Theory of Law and State* (Cambridge, 1945).

47. Wolff considers the nations as organized in an association which he calls

Kelsen attributes binding force above all to international custom. From the latter, the binding force of treaties is derived—*pacta sunt servanda* is in itself a customary rule. The binding character of international custom constitutes the initial hypothesis (*Grundnorm*) which is inherent in any legal system, but cannot be subject to further legal analysis—hence Kelsen, like Triepel, declines to answer the fundamental question why custom is binding.

His conception of the primacy of international law Kelsen merely represents as logically possible and materially satisfactory without denying logical consistence to a theory of international law which is based on the primacy of national law. Still, his own system is by no means plausible. Particularly, one can certainly not accept the thesis that the various laws receive their binding force from a “delegation” by the international law. Nevertheless, Kelsen’s system is imposing in its range and in the intellectual power displayed in its elaboration. These qualities, together with the unusual gift of penetrating criticism, are characteristic of Kelsen’s contribution to legal philosophy in general—they have aroused even wider comment than Duguit’s.⁴⁸

Kelsen’s inquiry into international law, however, though esteemed for its formal qualities, has met with little approval. Yet, it remains notable as the most radical form of monism in international law and as a reflection in legal terms of the idea of world democracy. Kelsen himself disclaims any political intentions—Hobbes, reaching almost the opposite result, had done the same.

the *civitas maxima*, as distinguished from the particular *civitates* or states which are associations of individuals. The *civitas maxima* is supposed to rest on a pact “or quasi-pact” of the several nations. Its purpose is the promotion of the common good of the states through their cooperation under rules emanating from the *civitas maxima*. These rules are derived from its purpose. Wolff resorts to the fiction of a ruler of the *civitas maxima* who, “following the leadership of nature,” defines the rules “by the right use of reasoning.”

48. See Lauterpacht, *Kelsen’s Pure Science of Law*, in *Modern Theories of Law* (London, 1933); Kunz, The “Vienna School” and International Law, in *New York University Law Quarterly Review*, XI (1934) 370-395; Jones, The “Pure” Theory of International Law, in *British Yearbook of International Law* (1935); Stern, *Kelsen’s Theory of International Law*, in *American Political Science Review*, XXX (1936), 736-784. See also bibliography in Kelsen, *General Theory* . . . (see n. 46).

The material interests of states, which were believed in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century to be an adequate basis of union, have proved to be unstable foundations. Hence publicists and statesmen, recognizing that the most urgent need of the immediate future is the creation of a stronger sense of unity within the community of states, have come to emphasize more and more the necessity of drawing upon the moral resources of Christian nations as a more compelling argument for the unity of purpose essential to the establishment of a true community of nations.⁴⁹ The same principles of moral conduct, it is declared, apply to states as corporate groups that apply to the individual men who compose the corporate group. There is but one standard of conduct between nation and nation and between man and man.⁵⁰

ANTHONY H. O'BRIEN-THOMOND

*St. Bonaventure College,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

49. An adequate selection of references is difficult to make. See, in particular: Dawson, *The Judgment of the Nations* (New York, 1942); Gonella-Bouscaren, *A World to Reconstruct* (Milwaukee, 1944); Maritain, *Les droits de l'homme et la loi naturelle* (New York, 1942); Curtis, *Civitas Dei* (London, 1934-1937); Bentwich, *The Religious Foundation of Internationalism* (London, 1933); Huber, *Some Observations Upon the Christian Understanding of International Law*, in *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, Official Oxford Conference Books, vol. VII (Chicago-New York, 1938); Americano, *The New Foundation of International Law* (New York, 1947).

50. See Scott, *A Single Standard of Morality for the Individual and the State*, in *Proceedings, American Society of International Law*, 1932, 10; *Inter-American Juridical Committee, Recommendations and Reports*, 1942-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1945), 13 and 25.

Phillimore (*op. cit.*, 3rd ed., vol. I, 28) quotes Sir James Mackintosh, *Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations*: "The duties of men, of subjects, of princes, of lawgivers, of magistrates, and of States, all are parts of one consistent system of universal morality. Between the most abstract and elementary maxim of moral philosophy, and the most complicated controversies of civil or public law, there subsists a connection. The principle of justice, deeply rooted in the nature and interest of man, pervades the whole system, and is discoverable in every part of it, even to its minutest ramification in legal formality, or in the construction of an article in a treaty."

THE BREVIARY OF SAINT CLARE*

VELLUM; 285 leaves, 230 x 165 mm.; 27 gatherings of 10 or 12 leaves, written in double columns of 50 or 51 lines, 165 x 115 mm. The first folio, originally the fly-leaf, is not numbered. The following 27 leaves have a modern foliation, pencilled in the center of the lower margins of the rectos. From this part 3 leaves are missing: one between the fly-leaf and fol. 1, another between fol. 8 and 9, a third between fol. 15 and 16. Then follow 251 folios, numbered by the scribe from I to CCLXII with red and blue ciphers in the center of the upper margins of the rectos. The following leaves are wanting: XV, CXVII, CLXXIII, CLXXV, CLXXVI, CCII, CCIII, a folio between CCXV and CCXVI, CCL, CCLIII, CCLV, CCLVI. At the end of the codex there are 7 leaves not numbered; of the last folio, the fly-leaf, there remains only a quarter.

The Gothic handwriting of Central Italy dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The tradition, however, that the codex was written by Brother Leo, the companion of St. Francis, lacks any palaeographical foundation; see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 44 ff. The chapters, lessons and prayers are in a somewhat larger character than the other parts; rubrics are always in red, initials alternately blue and red and flourished. On fol. 2^{v-a}, at the beginning of the first psalm of the psalter, there is a large initial b that with the following words *eatus vir* forms a quadrangle, almost twice as high as it is wide.

The musical notation is always square and, with the exception of the Mass *Requiem*, fol. 263^v ff., rather fine. In the psalter the staves are of four lines: three "dry point" and one red (F); in the hymnal they are of 3-6 red lines. Here are to be noted: *bivirga*, *franculus*, *liqueſcens* and often neums written above each other. In the ritual for the Last Sacraments, fol. CCV ff., the notation is on staves of two or three "dry point" lines, sometimes

*Continuation of *Franciscan Studies* VIII, 1948, 25-46.

almost invisible, and one red line, which is missing on fol. CCIX^v. Finally, the Mass *Requiem*, a later addition, is written in a rather heavy square notation of five lines: four “dry point”, the fifth in red.

The binding is original: wooden covers, 232 x 167 mm., with three strings in the back, bound in leather of natural brown color. Two vellum leaves, stuck on the inside of the covers, were taken from a sermologium in Beneventan script.

The codex is well preserved, though it bears traces of continued use. Some lower margins have been cut out; certain leaves at the end of the manuscript have cuts of several centimetres, but the text is always intact.

Additions of later hands are very few and almost always of about the middle of the thirteenth century. Sometimes one could believe them to be the work of the copyist himself. Corrections and additions to be found in the codex itself will be given in ordinary brackets (), everything else, not given in the manuscript, will be printed in square brackets [].

De specialibus antiphonis laudum. que ponuntur ante nativitatem domini. fiat sicut in subscriptis septem tabulis continetur.

In anno illo in quo nativitas domini in dominica venerit sic fiat. Feria iiiij tercie ebdomade adventus ad laudes et per horas ant. Prophete predi [caverunt] . . . ad laudes et per horas ant. Iudea et Ierusalem.

Shortened revision of the so-called *Tabula Parisiensis*, an *Ordo* for the special antiphons of lauds for the last week of Advent. For the Franciscans it was prescribed and published by their general Chapter of Pisa in 1263; cf. AFH IV, 69, n. 2; van Dijk, *Il carattere, loc. cit.*, LX, 349, note 44.—The text in C is an addition, written on the fly-leaf, in a heavy but regular handwriting.

fol. 1^{r-a}-2^{r-a}. The fragmentary calendar, from 24 June onwards, written in double columns. Published by Cholat,¹ it may be copied again because of its exceptional value as one of

1. *Op. cit.*, 71 ff.

the most ancient calendars related to the Curia and the Franciscans; see Appendix I.

fol. 2^{r-a}-2^{v-a}. *Quotus est aureus numerus simplicis annis.* [sic.]
 Ignoratis numerum qui lune predicat orum.
 Per denos nonos. domini disperiat annos.
 Adiungens unum quicquid superest notat illum.
 Quando nil restat decimum nonum stare constat.

Versus isti edocent quo ordine aureus numerus describatur.
 [sic.]

Aureus hac arte numerus formatur aperte.

.... [23 versus]

Tali quippe modo describitur aureus ordo.

hic incipit tabula [fol. 2^{r-b}] anno domini m.cc.xxvij.

Sept. v. Oct. v. Nov. vij. dec. vij. ian. ix. febr. x.

Versus de numero [sic] dierum in mensibus

Ad sciendum quot dies habet quilibet mensis

m.cc.xliij	Ciclus b.
------------	-----------

m.cc.xlv	Qui
----------	-----

m.cc.xlvj	Hunc
-----------	------

.....	- - - -
-------	---------

m.cc.lxxxij	/ / / / / /
-------------	-------------

The verses before the Easter table, see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 41 f., were written by the copyist of the manuscript. Those following the table have been added by several hands. The ink is often very pale. The list from 1244 to 1291 is an Easter table which corresponds to a series of additions in the missing months of March and April of the calendar.

fol. 2^{v-a}-25^{r-a}. *ant.* Servite domino. Evovae. [ps.] Beatus vir qui non abiit in concilio . . . carnis resurrectionem. vitam eternam. Amen.

Hexapla version of the psalter (Gallican Psalter), ordered according to the days of the week (*psalterium feriatum* or *psalmista*). The antiphons are with music and followed by the modal clauses of the psalms (*Evovae*). The canticles of the Old and New Testaments, *Quicumque vult*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Pater noster*, *Credo in Deum* and the litany, to be quoted presently, conclude this part.

fol. 25^{r-a}-25^{v-b}. Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson.
 Christe audi nos. Pater de celis . . . Omnes sancti angeli et
 archangeli. orate. O[mnes sancti troni et dominationes. orate.]
 O[mnes principatus et potestates. orate.] Omnes sancti beat-
 orum spirituum ordines . . . Sancte petre. [bis] ora. Sancte
 paule [bis] ora. Sancte andrea. ora. . . . Sancte vincenti.
 ora. (Sancte fabiane . . .) Agnus dei qui tollis . . .

Preces. Salvos fac servos tuos . . . Oremus pro ministro
 nostro . . .

Benedictio. Exaudiat nos omnipotens et misericors dominus.
 Amen.

Litany of the Saints, to be said during Lent, erased from the invocation of St. Fabian to fol. 25^v, i. e., to the first *Agnus Dei*, and rewritten by two different hands according to the litany of the Franciscan breviary founded upon the *Ordo breviarii* of Haymo of Faversham. There are some additions of the fourteenth century. From the number of lines and invocations it may be concluded that the original was the litany of the pre-Haymonian breviary; see van Dijk, *The litany*, in *Franc. Studies* VII, 1947, 428 ff. In the text above quoted the words in square brackets have been erased.

fol. 25^{v-b}-27^v. *In ascensione domini ad vesperum et ad laudes ymnus Iesu nostra redemptio . . . In dedicatione ecclesie ad vesperum. et nocturnum ymnus Urbs beata . . . per immensa secula.* Amen.

Complete hymnal arranged according to the Proper of the Season, of the Saints and of the Common. It is written in full lines with the musical notation; see above, p. 351. The fact that the Proper of the Season begins with the feast of the Ascension is unusual.

fol. I^{r-a}-CXVI^{r-a}. *In nomine domini. Incipit ordo et offitium breviarii Romane ecclesie curie quem consuevimus observare tempore. Innocentii tertii pape. et aliorum pontificum. In primo sabbato de adventu. Capitulum ad vesperum. Fratres scientes quia . . . et laudes perficiuntur sicut in politico habentur.*

Proper of the Season of both breviary and missal; see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 27 ff., from the first Sunday of Advent to the Mass of Easter Sunday (exclus.). The title is that of the Ordinary of Innocent III, except for the words *et officii breviarii*, which have been added by the copyist. In fact, only the breviary-part is dependent on Innocent's *Ordo*, even though there are many suppressions; see *loc. cit.*, 30 f. In this part the lessons of Innocent III have been retained.² After lauds of Ash Wednesday, fol. L^{v-a}, there is the short litany, which has already been mentioned as the most evident testimony of the local influence of Assisi; cf. *loc. cit.*, 35 f.

The papal *Ordines* in this part are:³

fol. XXXII^{v-b}. Notandum quod isto die dominus papa Innocentius instituit quod sudarium christi defereretur . . . Beatus vir qui non habiit. *cum sequentibus.*

fol. LIV^{v-a} LIII^{r-a}. Non est pretermittendum hic de officio cineris. In primis fiant cineres apud sanctam anastasiam . . . Humiliate capita vestra deo. Postea orat super populum.

fol. XC^{v-b}-XCIII^{r-a}. Ordo in die palmarum. Dominica in palmis secunda hora diei mediante sacerdos et omnis clerus conveniat . . . sacerdos tunc petat benedictionem.

fol. C^{v-a}-CIII^{r-b}. Feria quinta in cena domini. Hac die sacrificium sacri corporis et sanguinis ab ipso domino . . . denudant altare quod est in capella dicendo antiphonam Diviserunt sibi vestimenta . . .

fol. CIII^{v-b}-CVII^{v-a}. Feria sexta die sancto parasceve. Hora sexta convenient omnes ad lateranensem basilicam vel aliam ecclesiam . . . qui velit cenare cenat quodlibet quo vult et quando vult.

fol. CIX^{r-a}-CXIII^{v-b}. In sabbato sancto. statio ad sanctum laurentium. Qualiter officium sit agendum hora sexta a ministro in atrio ecclesie ignis excutitur . . . finiat missam ut supra dictum est.

fol. CXIII^{v-b}-CXV^{v-b}. Dominica sanctum pascha. Dominus papa surgit ad matutinum intratque capellam suam. Albis vestibus induitus . . . et laudes perficiuntur sicut in politico habentur.

2. Cf. Cholat, *op. cit.*, 59 f.

3. They have been published by Cholat, *op. cit.*, 61, 78 ff. Those of the last three days of the Holy Week are to be found also in Andrieu, *Le Pontifical II*, 541 ff.

fol. CXV^{r-b}-CXVIII^{r-a}. *Quando presbiter parat se ad celebrandum missam. secundum consuetudinem Romane. ecclesie decantet hos psalmos. Quam dilecta. ps. Benedixisti. ps. Inclina . . . Paratus autem intrat ad altare dicens ant. Introibo ad altare . . . et per te cepta finiatur. Qui cum patre.*

Ordinary of the Mass, similar to that published by J. Brinktrine from a Roman sacramentary, cod. Vatican., Ottobon. lat. 356.⁴ The text of C is more conformable to the traditional one; see Appendix II. The formula for the kiss of peace, *Pax christi et ecclesie habundat in cordibus nostris*, is exceptional.⁵ Folio CXII is missing, i. e., from the Preface of the holy Cross to [*misera*]ciōnum tuarum sperantibus of the *Nobis quoque*.

fol. CXVIII^{r-a}-CXIX^{r-a}. *Hic notantur notule qualiter sacerdos agere debeat cum stat ad sacrificandum. scilicet qualiter debeat facere cruces super calicem aut super corpus domini et quando. In primis cum incipere debet. Te igitur . . . reponat in calice et sanguine.*

Quociens sacerdos altare debeat osculari. In primis facta confessione . . . et dicat Trium puerorum.

Quando cantatur Gloria in excelsis deo. vel non. a dominica . . . festivis diebus generaliter cantatur.

Quando cantatur Credo in unum deum. In natali et in omnibus sollempnitatibus domini . . . aliquod festum de predictis.

Collection of rubrics for the signs of the Cross to be made over host and chalice in the Canon of the Mass, for the kissing of the altar during Mass, the *Gloria* and *Credo*. It will be transcribed in the Appendix II.

fol. CXIX^{r-a}-CLXXIII^{r-b}. *Dominica sanctum pascha. ad missam. Introitus Resurrexi et adhuc . . . et inimicos persequentur tenebre.*

Second part of the Proper of the Season, arranged as the first part. The Easter Mass, see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 28, is followed,

4. In *Ephemerides liturg.*, LI, 1937, 199 ff.

5. Cf. loc. cit., 200 ff.

fol. CXIX^{r-b}, by the ancient *Benedictio agni. Deus universe carnis conditor . . .* and the *Benedictio lactis et mellis. Benedic domine et has creaturas fontis [sic] lactis et mellis . . .*⁶

The papal *Ordines* in this part are:⁷

fol. CXIX^{v-a}. *In secreta vero descendunt . . .*

fol. CXXXIII^{r-b}. *Hora vero nona convenient omnes ad ecclesiam et omne officium vel ordinem . . .*

The Sunday Masses after Pentecost and the corresponding homilies for the third nocturns end on fol. CLXIII^{v-a} with *Explicant dominicalia tocius anni.* Then follow the lessons taken from holy Scripture with the responsorial *historiae* of the last months of the liturgical year, introduced by the rubric *Sciendum est quod omnes ystorie que in kalendis mutantur . . .*

fol. CLXXIII^{r-b}-CLXXIII^{v-b}. [1.] *In omnibus festivitatibus que in sabbatis veniunt . . .*

[2.] *Si festum trium lectionum in dominica venerit . . .*

[3.] *De omnibus vigiliis in quibus iejunium celebramus . . .*

[4.] *Sciendum quod oratio A cunctis nos quesumus . . .*

[5.] *Sciendum est quod quandcumque aliqua festivitas novem lectionum . . .*

[6.] *Item si aliquod festum quod mutatur de uno die ad alium in quo est festum . . .*

[7.] *Nota quod si festum occurrit sequenti die sequenti die [sic] post festum sancti michaelis . . .*

[8.] *Nota quod quandcumque est festum duplex vesperum incipitur . . .*

[9.] *Et notandum quod quando aliqua festivitas alicuius sancti habeat octavam . . .*

[10.] *Adventus domini celebratur . . . et tercio nonas eiusdem mensis.*

6. Cf. Andrieu, *loc. cit.*, 453.

7. Cholat, *loc. cit.*, 94 ff.

General rubrics for Office and Mass, in the form as they are given in the Ordinary of Innocent III. Fol. CLXXIII^{v-b} blank. The three following leaves, containing the beginning of the Proper of the Saints of the missal, have been cut out.

fol. CLXXVII^{r-a}-CLXXXI^{r-a}. *interius per [in unitate] eiusdem. [Oratio.] Domine iesu christe qui hodierna die in nostre carnis substantia . . . liberemur insidiis per d.n. iesum christum. Explicant festivitates sanctorum per totum annum.*

Proper of the Saints for the missal, beginning at the end of the penultimate prayer of the papal *Ordo* for the blessing of candles on 2 February. This is at once the only papal rubric in this part and the one extensive rubric of the Proper and the Common of the Saints. The missal is different from that of the Franciscans; see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 27 ff.

fol. CLXXXI^{v-a}-CLXXXII^{r-b}. *Incipit officium benedictionis aquae. Sine dominus vobiscum. et sine oremus absolute dicatur. Exorcizo te creatura salis . . . Postea oremus. Inmensam clementiam tuam omnipotens eterne deus . . . Oremus. Deus qui ad salutem humani generis . . . Hic mittatur sal in aqua in modum crucis. ita dicendo tribus vicibus. In nomine patris et filii . . . Dominus vobiscum. Deus invic[t]e virtutis auctor . . . Oremus. Omnipotens et misericors deus qui sacerdotum misterio [sic] ad serviendum . . .*

Postea aspergatur aqua benedicta dicendo hanc antiphonam Asperges me . . . ps. Miserere mei. ant. Asperges me . . . ps. Miserere mei . . . ant. Asperges me. [sic] [ps.] Amplius lava me domine. [ant.] Asperges me. Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Capitulum. Ostende nobis . . . Oremus. Presta quesumus omnipotens deus per huius creature aspersione sanitatem . . .

Ante ianuam ecclesie. Oratio. Domine iesu christe qui introitum portarum . . . In chorus [sic] oratio. Via sanctorum omnium domine iesu christe qui ad te venientibus . . . aulam paradisi introire. Salvator mundi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivis.

Blessing and distribution of holy Water, with elements foreign to the Roman *Ordo ad faciendum aquam benedictam*. The pro-

cession for instance was prohibited for the Franciscans by the general Chapter of 1254.⁸ The prayers *Domine Iesu Christe* and *Via sanctorum*, to be said during the Sunday procession in the Lateran basilica,⁹ are rather common in Italian codices of that time.

fol. CLXXXII^{r-b}-CIC^{r-b}. *Incipiunt officia de communi sanc-*
torum per totum annum. Et est sciendum quod epistole et
evangelia requir[un]tur in aliis festivitatibus. scilicet si in
ipsis officiis annunciat[ur]. In vigilia unius apostoli . . . In natali
plurimorum apostolorum . . . In natale [sic] unius martiris . . .
In natale plurimorum martirum . . . In natale unius confessoris
. . . In natali confessorum martirum [sic] et pontificum . . . In
natale virginum . . . In dedicatione ecclesie . . . celestia promissa
te ducente pervenire mereatur. Qui cum deo patre.

Common of the Saints of the missal. In addition to the numerous differences between these Masses and those of the Curia and the Franciscans, one notes the lacks of a Common
In vigilia plurimorum apostolorum.

fol. CIC^{r-b}-CCIII^{v-a}. [1. *In dominica.*] *Missa in honore sancte*
trinitatis. Introitus. Benedicta sit . . .

[2. *Feria secunda.*] *Missa de sancta sapientia. Introitus. Aqua*
sapientie . . .

[3. *Feria tertia.*] *Missa de sancto spiritu Introitus. Deus patrum*
nostrorum . . .

[4. *Feria quarta.*] *Missa ad postulandum suffragium angelorum.*
Introitus. Adorate dominum omnes angeli . . .

[5. *Feria quinta.*] *Missa de sancta caritate. Introitus. Karitas*
dei . . .

[6.] *Feria sexta. Missa de sancta cruce. Introitus. Nos autem*
gloriari oportet . . .

[7. *Sabbato.*] *Missa de sancta maria. Introitus. Salve sancta*
parens . . .

8. Cf. van Dijk, *Notae quaedam*, loc. cit., 138.

9. Fischer, *op. cit.*, 121, n. 246.

[8.] *Missa pro pace Introitus.* Da nobis [sic] pacem domine . . .

[9.] *Missa beate marie et omnium sanctorum oratio.* Concede quesumus omnipotens deus . . .

[10.] *Missa pro ecclesia. oratio.* Ecclesie tue . . .

[11.] *Alia missa pro ecclesia oratio* A cunctis nos quesumus . . .

[12.] *Missa pro papa oratio* Deus omnium fidelium . . .

[13.] *Missa pro exercitu. oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt . . .

[14.] *Missa pro sacerdote. Introitus.* Cor mundum crea in me . . .

[15.] *Missa pro cuncto populo oratio* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui celestia . . .

[16.] *Missa pro peccatis oratio* Parce domine . . .

[17.] *Alia missa pro peccatis oratio* Exaudi domine quesumus . . .

[18.] *Item alia missa pro peccatis vel tribulatione Introitus.* Misereris omnium domine . . .

[19.] *Missa pro temptatione carnis. oratio* Ure igne . . .

[20.] *Missa communis oratio* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui vivorum . . .

[21.] *In anniversario consecrationis pape. oratio.* Deus qui licet sis magnus in magnis. mirabilia tamen gloriosus operaris in minimis conce[de]

[(22.)] eorum. *V* Adiuva nos deus . . .

[(23.)] *Missa contra cogitationes malas oratio* Omnipotens mitissime deus . . .

[(24.)] *Missa generalis oratio* Pietate tua quesumus domine . . .

[(25.)] *Alia missa communis oratio* Sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus quesumus domine . . .

[(26.)] *Missa pro infirmis Introitus Deus in nomine tuo salvum . . . representari mereatur incolumis. Per.*

Series of votive Masses, different from that of the Friars Minor.¹⁰ Fol. CCII is missing; see n. 21. In the lower margins of fol. CC^r and CCI^r a later hand added without its title the prayers of Haymo's Mass *Pro congregazione: Deus qui nos a seculi vanitate* (*Ordo missalis*, n. 22).¹¹ It is so clearly of Franciscan origin, that Bracaloni¹² thought it to be the Mass of the profession of the friars.

fol. CCIII^{r-a}-CCV^{r-a}. *Missa in die depositionis introitus Rogamus te domine deus noster . . . flos agri. ps. Benedic anima mea domine et noli omnia interiora [sic] V Requiem eternam V Benedic anima mea domino et noli oblivisci.*

Oratio Deus cui proprium est misereri . . .

Epistola Fratres de temporibus autem . . . spem salutis per dominum nostrum iesum christum qui mortuus est pro nobis.

Graduale Qui Lazarum resuscitasti . . . *V* Requiem eternam . . .

[*Tractus*] *V* De profundis . . . *V* Fiant aures . . . *V* Si iniquitates . . . *V* Quia apud te . . .

Evangelium. In illo tempore dixit iesus discipulis suis et turbis iudeorum Ego sum panis vivus . . . in novissimo die.

Offertorium. Domine convertere et eripe . . .

Communio Lux eterna . . .

Alia missa [oratio.] Quesumus domine ut famulo tuo . . . ut cum dies agni[tionis] meam sed voluntatem eius qui . . . hunc panem vivet in eternum.

Mass *Rogamus* for the dead, known elsewhere in several forms.¹³ This one is even different from that to be found in the

10. Cf. van Dijk, *Il carattere*, loc. cit., 360 ff.

11. Loc. cit., 361.

12. *Il primo rituale*, loc. cit., 75.

13. See, for instance, M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* I, 62, cf. loc. cit., 133, 208, 383, and *Annales Camaldulenses* II, Venetiis 1756, 458.

Ordo commendationis animae on fol. CCIX^v ff; see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 38. Fol. CCIV is missing; it contained probably a series of prayers and epistles, corresponding to the three gospels of fol. CCV^{r-a}. In the prayers still extant the copyist himself wrote the plural forms of address between the lines.

fol. CCV^r. *Ex ordine Romano oratio super lectum defuncti positum in rota clericorum.* Dominus vobiscum. et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. Non intres in iudicium . . . alia oratio Fac quesumus domine . . . Kyrieleison tribus {vicibus} pater noster. Et ne. *capitula.* In memoriam . . . Oremus. Deus cui omnia vivunt . . . alia oratio. Deus qui caritatis dona . . . secreta. Misericere domine quesumus . . . postcom. Divina libantes . . . Obtulimus maiestati. Per.

Prayers probably taken from the *Ordo sepeliendi clericos Romane fraternitatis* of the pontifical of the Curia.¹⁴

fol. CCV^{r-b}-CCV^{v-b}. *Ordo minorum fratrum secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesie ad visitandum infirmum.* In primis pulsetur campana parvula. et fratres . . . et post hoc stupa proiciatur in igne [m].

fol. CCV^{v-b}-CCVI^{r-a}. *Ordo ad communicandum infirmum.* In primis pulsetur campana parvula et fratres . . . prosit ad remedium sempiternum. per eundem christum d. n. amen.

fol. CCVI^{r-a}-CCXII^{v-b}. *Ordo commendationis anime.* primum fiant letanie breves ad hunc modum. Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson. Sancta maria. ora pro eo . . . misericordissime pietatis absterge. (per christum dominum nostrum. Amen.) *Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia.*

Pre-Haymonian revision of the Franciscan ritual for the Last Sacraments, being an adaptation of the original text of the pontifical of the Curia. The text of C, which does not belong to the best ones, has been published by Bracaloni.¹⁵ In the third *Ordo* the entire Office of the dead and another Mass *Rogamus* have been inserted in this way:

14. Cf. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical II*, 505, n. 3; 506, n. 8; 507, n. 12; 508, n. 11.

15. *Loc. cit.*, 76 ff.

fol. CCIX^{r-a}. *Et deposito [corpo] in ecclesia preparent se fratres ad cantandam vigiliam. Ebdomadarius cum socio incipiunt absolute sicut decet Regem cui omnia vivunt et sollempniter et [sic-cantant] totam vigiliam cum novem lectionibus. Invitatorium Regem cui omnia . . .*

fol. CCIX^{v-a}. (*Interim*) *Sacerdos cum ministris preparent se et decantetur missa sollempniter ordinata si tempus congruum fuerit. Ad missam. Introitus. Rogamus te domine . . . Graduale Qui Lazarum . . . [Tractus] Absolve domine animam eius ab . . . [V] Et gratia illi succurente . . . Offertorium. Subvenite sancti dei . . . V Suscipiat te christus . . . Communio Qui Lazarum . . .*

The Office is entirely with musical notation; the Mass has only the music of the Offertory. Where needed, a later hand added in black the feminine forms of address between the text.

fol. CCXII^{v-a}-CCXIII^{v-b}. *Honorius episcopus servus servorum dei . . . Solet annuere sedes apostolica . . . Datum laterani. iij. kalendas decembris pontificatus nostri. Anno Octavo.*

Bull of Honorius III, containing the Rule of the Friars Minor; 29 November 1223.¹⁶ One third of column CCXIII^{v-b} remains blank.

fol. CCXIII^{r-a}-CCLI^{v-b}. *Incipiunt festivitates sanctorum per totum annum. In festo sancti Saturnini. Ad vesperum. Capitulum. ymnus. et versus. et antiphona ad magnificat de uno martire. oratio. Deus qui nos beati saturnini . . . In festo sancti grisogoni martiris . . . intercessione liberemur. per.*

Proper of the Saints of the breviary, including the Common for Eastertide, fol. CCXXIII^{r-a}-CCXXV^{r-a}. Two leaves are missing: one between fol. CCXV and CCXVI, another numbered CCL. Rubrics and texts as in the pre-Haymonian breviary, i. e. with some slight differences from Innocent's Ordinary.

fol. CCLI^{v-b}-CCLIX^{r-b}. *In natalitiis apostolorum. Ad vesperum. Capitulum. Fratres iam non estis hospites . . . In nativitate evangelistarum omnia officia sicut in communi aposto-*

16. Critical edition: *Opuscula sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis in Bibliotheca Franciscana ascetica Medii Aevi I*, Ad Claras Aquas 1904, 63 ff.

lorum . . . In festo unius martiris In nativitate virginum . . . In dedicatione ecclesie . . . porta celi. magnificat. oratio ut supra.

Common of the Saints of the breviary. Incomplete to the extent of three folios: CCLIV, CCLV, CCLVI.

fol. CCLIX^{r=a}-CCLX^{v=a}. *Incipit officium beate marie virginis secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesie curie quod celebratur a vesperis. sabbati primi post pentecosten usque ad . . . ora pro nobis ad [sic] deum. alleluia. Item tunc non facimus istud officium quando facimus duplex officium. et non dicimus oratio [nem] de apostolis et de pace.*

Office of Our Lady with rubrics identical with those of Innocent III's Ordinary. The word *ecclesie* in the title has been cancelled by the copyist himself. The words *et usum*, added after *consuetudinem* by Cholat¹⁷ and qualified as "une lecture douteuse", are, in fact, the last words of the preceding Office of the Dedication: *ut supra*.

fol. CCLX^{v=a}. *Duplex officium facimus. In nativitate domini . . . et basilicarum petri et pauli.*

List of feasts of double rite, published by Cholat¹⁸ and Clop,¹⁹ but incompletely because of an homoioteleuton in the text of C; the sentence *In ascensione. et in pentecoste. et duobus sequentibus diebus* is missing. The list is a copy of that in Innocent III's Ordinary.

fol. CCLX^{v=a}-CCLXII^{r=a}. *In festo sancti Francisci. lectio. j. Vir erat in civitate asisii que in finibus vallis spolethane sita est . . . et omni hora muniti celestibus erudiret.*

Nine short lessons for the Office of St. Francis (4 Oct.), taken from the so-called *Vita prima* of Thomas of Celano.²⁰ They

17. *Op. cit.*, 55, note 1.

18. *Op. cit.*, 47.

19. *Loc. cit.*, 782.

20. Published from this codex in AFH I, 64 ff; cf. AFH XXI, 254, note; AFH XXIX, 286 f.; *Analecta Franciscana* X, page XIII, n. 19.

are followed by nine lessons for the feast of St. Silvester (31 Dec.), whose Office is entirely missing in the body of the manuscript, fol. XXIV^v.

Folio CCLXII^{r-b} blank.

fol. CCLXII^v- 264^r. [Introitus.] Requiem eternam dona eis . . . Requiem. Cum sanctis. Kyrie kyleyson [sic] Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson. Dies ire dies illa . . . Pie iesu domine dona eis requiem. Amen.

Slightly later addition of the choral parts of the Mass *Requiem*, followed by the sequence; all in square notation. Text and music are traditional; in the sequence the slight variants are: *Iudicando responsura* . . . *Iudeo ergo cum censembit* . . . *Dum vix iustus sit securus* . . . *Quia sum causa tue vie* . . . *Querens me sedisti lapsus* . . . *Que resurget ex favilla* . . . almost all slips of the pen.

fol. 264^r. Domine exercituum ps. Deus venerunt gentes. Kyrieleison. Pater noster. et ne nos. V Exurgat deus. Non nobis domine non nobis. Salvum fac. Fiat pax. Esto. *Oratio*. Deus qui ammirabili providentia dencia [sic] cun[c]ta disponis. te suppliciter exarenumus [sic] ut terram quam inigenitus filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit. de manibus inimicorum crucis eripias. ipsam quoque restitutas cultui christiano ad laudem et gloriam nomini[s] tui. Vota fidelium qui ad eius liberationem insistunt. misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per eumdem dominum nostrum.

Addition made in virtue of the Lateran Council of 1215, whence Innocent III sent a letter dealing with the liberation of the Holy Land, in which he insisted once more on the prayers quoted.²¹ They were to be said at Mass after the kiss of peace.²²

21. Prayers for the Holy Land were already prescribed at the end of the 12th century; see J. M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensium I*, Lovanii 1933, 172, n. 10 (anno 1194); cf. 181 f.

22. Cf. Salimbene de Adam, O.F.M., *Chronica in Monumenta Germaniae historica XXXII*, Hannoverae 1905-13, 237, and especially the interesting note from the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis* in Bracaloni, *loc. cit.*, 86.—The same prayers are to be found, for instance, in cod. 127 of Montecassino; cf. *Bibliotheca Casinensis*

fol. 264^r. *Benedictiones autem tam in feriales [sic] quam in festivis diebus hec dicantur et non alie. in primo nocturno. dica[n]tur hee tres. prima Benedictione perpetua . . . doceat nos filius dei vivi.*

Blessings for matins, added in virtue of the Franciscan *Ordinationes divini Officii*.²³

fol. 264^r. *Incipit ordo ad benedicendum mensam per totum annum. Congregatis fratribus ad prandium in refectorio . . . resumitur benedictio consueta scilicet. Oculi omnium in te.*

Grace before and after meals as given in Haymo of Faver-sham's *Ordinaries*.²⁴ Addition made by the copyist or by a very similar slightly later hand.

fol. 265^{r-a}-269^{r-a}. *In festo beate katherine. In primis vesperis ant. Virginis eximie katherine martiris alme festa celebrare . . . [lectio]. Igitur constantinus cum rem publicam in gallis . . . sternitur plebs impia. [Sequentia. O]das hec in die letas. Christo canat omnis etas ore voce fidibus . . . tu tuere nos celorum transfer ad palatia. Amen.*

Feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria, added in virtue of Haymo's *Ordinaries*, introducing the feast into the Franciscan calendar.²⁵ The Office, however, of the *Ordo breviarii* is taken from the Common, except for the lessons *Regnante Maxentio Caesare filii Maximiani* and the proper prayer; the Office²⁶ and the legend²⁷ here given are followed by the prayers given in Haymo's *Ordo missalis*. Of the last leaf there remains only a fourth part. On the recto side ends the sequence;²⁸ on the verso there is the note *[C]larae de civitatis asiscensis [sic]*, which gave rise to the tradition that the book was written for St. Clare and her nuns; see *Franc. Studies* VIII, 46.

III, Montecassino 1877, 170.—The *Chronica Iohannis Vitodurani*, O.F.M., *Mon. Germ. Hist., Nova series* III, Berolini 1924, 2, gives the prayers to be said before the *Agnus Dei*.

23. Cf. AFH III, 67, n. 19.

24. Cf. van Dijk, *Il carattere, loc. cit.*, LX, 359.

25. Cf. *loc. cit.*, LIX, 213 f.

26. Cf. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnol.*, n. 21677.

27. Not to be found in the *Hagiographia latina*.

28. Not to be found in Chevalier, *op. cit.*

APPENDIX I

THE CALENDAR IN THE BREVIARY OF SAINT CLARE

The fragmentary calendar in the breviary-missal of St. Clare is written in double columns, a fact which caused some difficulties in copying the feasts of three or more Saints.¹ The leaf with the first four columns has been lost.

In the codex the dates are according to the classic Roman reckoning and preceded by the Golden Numbers and the Sunday Letters. The modern numbering of the days has been added here for practical purposes. At the beginning of each month there are the usual indications of its Hebrew and Greek name, the number of the days, etc.; at the end there are the, almost illegible, verses for the *Dies Aegyptiaci*, which in the calendar itself are indicated with the usual crossed d. They have been omitted in the following transcription.²

The abbreviations for *sancti* and *sanctorum* are usually *Sci* and *Scor*; I have here changed them to *S.* and *Ss.* The additions of later hands are given in brackets, the erasures by dots.

24	vij	<i>Kal. Nativitas s. Iohannis baptiste</i>
25	vij	
26	vj	<i>Ss. martirum Iohannis et pauli</i>
27	v	
28	iiiij	<i>S. leonis pape et conf. Vigilia apost. petri et pauli</i>
29	iiij	<i>Ss. apostolorum petri et pauli</i>
30	ij	<i>Commemoratio sancti pauli</i>

1. *Franc. Studies* VIII, 39 f. The mistakes there, under 27 July and 13 Sept., are not to be found in the manuscript.

2. See H. Grotewold, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Bnd. 2, Abt. 2, Hannover 1898, 193^a in *Nachträge zum Glossar*; Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* II, 2, Mediolani 1726, 1023 f.

[Iulii]

- 1 *Kal. iul.*
 2 *vj non.* Ss. martirum processi et martiniani
 3 *v*
 4 *iiij*
 5 *iiij*
 6 *ij* Octava apostolorum petri et pauli
 7 *non.*
 8 *vij id.*
 9 *vij*
 10 *vj* Ss. martirum vij fratrum et ss. Rufine et secunde
 11 *v* S. pii pape et martiris
 12 *iiij* Ss. martirum naboris et felicis
 13 *iiij* S. anacleti pape et martiris
 14 *ij*
 15 *idus* Ss. quirite et iulite martirum
 16 *xvij Kal. aug.*
 17 *xvj* S. alexii confessoris
 18 *xv* S. simpchorose cum vij filiis suis martirum
 19 *xiiij*
 20 *xiiij* S. margarete virginis (et martiris. non minus sanguinem)
 21 *xij* S. praxedis virginis
 22 *xj* S. marie magdalene
 23 *x* S. apolinaris episcopi et martiris
 24 *ix* S. cristine virginis et martiris. Vigilia
 25 *vij* S. iacobi apostoli et s. cristofori martiris
 26 *vij* S. pastoris presbiteri et confessoris [martiris]
 27 *vj* S. pantaleonis martiris [martiris et innocentii pape et]
 28 *v* Ss. martirum Nazarii et celsi et victoris pape et
 29 *iiij* Ss. martirum simplicii faustini et beatricis s.

[Iulii] 20. Erased line. The original text as well as the addition almost illegible.

- 30 **ijj** Ss. martirum abdon et senen [felicis pape et
 martiris]
- 31 **ijj**

[Augusti]

- 1 *Kal. aug.* *S. petri in vincula ss. machabeorum martirum*
- 2 **iiij non.** *S. stephani pape et martiris*
- 3 **ijj** *Inventio corporis sancti stephani protomartiris*
- 4 **ij** *S. iustini presbiteri et martiris*
- 5 *non.* (*festum nivis*) (*S. dominici confessoris ordinis*
 [*pred]ica to[rum]*]) (*in ecclesia beate marie*
 maioris de urbe)
- 6 **vij** *S. sixti pape et mart. et ss. felicissimi et agapiti*
 martirum
- 7 **vij** *S. donati episcopi et martiris*
- 8 **vj** *Ss. martirum Cyriaci largi et smaragdi*
- 9 **v** *S. romani martiris. Vigilia laurentii*
- 10 **iiij** *S. laurentii martiris*
- 11 **ijj** *Ss. tiburtii et susanne virginis et mart. (et s.*
 Ruphini ep. et mart.)
- 12 **ij**
- 13 **idus** *S. ypoliti et sociorum eius martirum*
- 14 **xix Kal. sept.** *S. eusebii presb. et conf. commemoration*
 et vigilia domine nostre
- 15 **xvij** *as[s]umptio beate marie Virginis*
- 16 **xvij**
- 17 **xvj** *octava sancti laurentii*
- 18 **xv** *S. agapiti martiris*
- 19 **xvij** (*S. ludovici episcopi et confessoris et frater*
 minor) [*sic*]
- 20 **xvij** (*S. Bernardi*)

[Augusti] 5. Additions by different hands. 11. The words *episc. et mart.* have been written in the margin. 12. Erasure, perhaps of the feast of St. Clare, added after 1256.

21	xij	
22	xj	Ss. Timothei. ypoliti. et simphoriani martirum. <i>octava</i>
23	x	
24	ix	Vigilia
25	vij	S. bartholomei apostoli . . . (lodovici)
26	vij	S. zepherini pape et martiris
27	vj	
28	v	S. augustini episcopi et conf. et s. hermetis martiris
29	iiij	<i>decollatio sancti Iohannis baptiste et s. sabine</i> virg. et martiris
30	iij	Ss. martirum felicis et audacti
31	ij	

[Septembris]

1	<i>Kal. sept.</i>	Ss. xij fratrum et s. egedii abbatis
2	iiij <i>non.</i>	S. antolini martiris
3	iij	
4	ij	
5	<i>non.</i>	
6	vij <i>id.</i>	
7	vij	
8	vj	<i>Nativitas beate marie virginis et s. adriani</i> martiris
9	v	S. gorgonii martiris
10	iiij	
11	iij	Ss. martirum proti et Jacinti
12	ij	
13	<i>idus</i>	

30. *Audacti* instead of *Adaucti* is common in the manuscripts.[Septembris] 1. Erroneously the *xij* was corrected into *vij*, probably in consequence of the mistake in the title of the feast on fol. CCXLII^{r-a}: *In festo sanc-torum vij fratrum.*

14	xvij	<i>Kal. oct.</i> Exultatio sancte crucis et ss. cornelii et cypriani martiris
15	xvj	S. nichomedis martiris
16	xvj	Ss. eufemie lucie et geminiani martirum
17	xv	
18	xiiiij	
19	xiiij	
20	xij	S. eustachii et sociorum eius martirum. vigilia
21	xj	<i>S. mathei apostoli et evangeliste</i>
22	x	S. mauritii cum sociis suis martirum
23	ix	S. lini pape et martiris (et tecle virginis)
24	vij	
25	vij	(S. firmini episcopi et martiris) (ambian[ensis])
26	vj	S. cipriani episcopi et martiris et s. iustine virg. et mart.
27	v	Ss. martirum cosme et damiani (+)
28	iiij
29	iij	<i>Dedicatio basilice s. michaelis archangeli</i>
30	ij	S. ieronimi presbiteri et confessoris

[Octobris]

1	<i>Kal. Oct.</i>	S. regmigii episcopi et confessoris
2	vj	<i>non.</i>
3	v	
4	iiij	<i>Nativitas Beati patris francisci ordinis fratrum minorum fundatoris et primi ministri . . . duplex festum</i>
5	iij	
6	ij	
7	<i>non.</i>	S. marcii pape . . . et sergii et bachi marcelli
8	vij	<i>idus</i> et apulei martirum

25. St. Firminus, bishop of Amiens; addition by two different hands.

27. Cross added at San Damiano after the codex had come there.

[Octobris] 2. Erasure; perhaps of the *Translatio sancte Clare*.5. Erased either an *m[aius]*, an *n* or a *u*.

9	vij	Ss. dionisii rustici et eleuterii martirum
10	vj	S. Cerbonii episcopi et confessoris
11	v	<i>Octava beati francisci duplex festum</i>
12	iiiij	· · · · ·
13	iiij	· · · · ·
14	ij	S. calixti pape et martiris
15	<i>idus</i>	· · · · ·
16	xvij	<i>Kal. nov.</i> · · · · ·
17	xvj	
18	xv	S. luce evangeliste
19	xiiij	· · · · ·
20	xiiij	· · · · ·
21	xij	S. ylarionis abbatis
22	xj	
23	x	· · · · ·
24	ix	· · · · ·
25	vij	Ss. martirum crisanti et darie
26	vij	S. evaristi pape et martiris (et domitille martiris)
27	vj	Vigilia
28	v	<i>Ss. apostolorum symonis et iude</i>
29	iiiij	· · · · ·
30	iiij	· · · · ·
31	ij	Vigilia omnium sanctorum

[Novembris]

- 1 *Kal. nov.* *Festivitas omnium sanctorum* (cesarii benigni
martirum. o)
- 2 iiiij *non.*
- 3 iiij (S. valentini martiris. marcelli episcopi et con-
fessoris)
- 4 ij Ss. martirum vitalis et agricole

9. After *dionisii* there is an *m[martiris]*, expunged by the copyist himself.
 [Novembris] 1. Addition in the same handwriting as that on 26 Oct.

5	<i>non.</i>	
6	vij	<i>id. S. leonardi confessoris</i>
7	vij	
8	vj	Ss. quatuor coronatorum martirum
9	v	<i>dedicatio basilice salvatoris (et s. theodori mar-</i> <i>tiris)</i>
10	iiij	Ss. triphonis et respicci martirum et nimphe virginis
11	ijj	<i>S. martini episcopi et confessoris et s. menne</i> <i>martiris</i>
12	ij	<i>S. martini pape et martiris</i>
13	<i>idus</i>	<i>S. bricii episcopi et confessoris</i>
14	xvij	<i>Kal. dec.</i>
15	xvij	
16	xvj	
17	xv	
18	xiiij	<i>dedicatio basilicarum apostolorum petri et pauli</i>
19	xijj	<i>S. pontiani pape et martiris (et s. helisabeth)</i>
20	xij	
21	xj	
22	x	<i>S. cecilie virginis et martiris</i>
23	ix	<i>S. clementis pape et martiris et s. felicitatis</i>
24	vij	<i>S. grisogoni martiris</i>
25	vij	(<i>S. catherine virginis et martiris</i>)
26	vj	<i>S. petri alexandrini episcopi et martiris</i>
27	v	
28	iiij	
29	ijj	<i>S. saturnini martiris. Vigilia</i>
30	ij	<i>S. andree apostoli</i>

[Decembris]

1 *Kal. dec.*

19. Cod.: potentiane.

2	iiij	<i>non.</i> S. bibiane virginis
3	ijj	
4	ij	S. barbare virginis et martiris
5	<i>non.</i>	S. sabe abbatis et confessoris
6	vijj	S. nicholay episcopi et confessoris
7	vij	S. ambrosii episcopi et confessoris
8	vj	... (<i>conceptio beate marie virginis</i>) ...
9	v	
10	iiij	S. melciadis pape et martiris
11	ijj	S. damasi pape et confessoris
12	ij	
13	<i>idus</i>	S. lucie virginis et martiris
14	xvijj	<i>Kal. ian.</i>
15	xvijj	
16	xvij	
17	xvj	
18	xv	
19	xlijj	
20	xlijj	Vigilia
21	xij	
22	xj	S. thome apostoli
23	x	
24	ix	Vigilia domini nostri ihesu christi et s. anastasie martiris
25	vijj	<i>Nativitas domini nostri ihesu christi</i>
26	vij	S. stephani protomartyris
27	vj	S. iohannis apostoli et evangeliste
28	v	Ss. innocentum
29	iiij	S. thome archiepiscopi et confessoris
30	ijj	
31	ij	S. silvestri pape et confessoris

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE ROMAN ORDER *Quando presbyter
parat se*

The history of the Roman order for solemn or high Mass *Quando presbyter (sacerdos) parat se ad celebrandum missam secundum consuetudinem Romanae ecclesiae (curiae) dicat hos psalmos* Quam dilecta (amabilia, in the so-called Roman Psalter) . . . has not yet been studied thoroughly. From the thirteenth century onwards it occurs in many missals, often beginning only with the first rubric of the Mass *Paratus autem (sacerdos) intrat ad altare dicens Introibo*¹ . . . , but it is certainly very ancient and P. Batiffol,² who believed it to be of Franciscan origin, is evidently mistaken. Bernold of Constanz (d. 1100) must already have known a similar *Ordo*. His *Micrologus* begins with the words quoted above³ and contains evident allusions to rubrics of the same *Ordo*. A comparison between Bernold's work, the twelfth century order of codex Salisb. 159 in the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna⁴ and the order of a Lateran (?) missal quoted by Bannister in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*⁵ might be useful in gauging the tradition. The highly interesting and important study of B. Luykx, Ord. Praem.,⁶ who is collecting the *Ordines* of the Mass of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, will certainly bring more light to bear on the problem of the Roman version.

1. So, for instance, in the *editio princeps* of the Roman missal, Milan, 1474, reprinted in the 17th volume of the Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1899, and from this in P. Alfonso, O.S.B., *I riti della Chiesa. III. La santa Messa*, Roma s. a. (1945), 125 ff.

2. *Leçons sur la Messe*, Paris 1920 (6th ed.), 4 ff.

3. Cf. PL 151, 979; chapter 1.

4. Fol. 120^a-139^b: *Ordo sacerdotalis officii secundum romanam consuetudinem. Presbiter cum se parat ad missam . . .* See *Tabulae I*, n. 448.

5. VII, 1908, 157 ff., cod. A, fol. 174^v. For my detailed knowledge of this manuscript I am indebted to the kindness of my confrère L. Brinkhoff, O.F.M.

6. Cf. *Essai sur les sources de l' "Ordo Missae" prémontré*; offspring from *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, Tongerloo, 1947.

In relation with the Breviary of St. Clare, it seems desirable to draw attention to the need of a critical edition of the *Quando presbyter*, as it is to be found in the thirteenth century documents. The matter available for such an edition is abundant. Yet, at the present stage of our knowledge, there are some difficulties which have to be solved previously. Even the notes given in the breviary-missal of St. Clare may be useful for this purpose.

In 1937, J. Brinktrine published an order *Quando presbyter*⁷ from the Vatican codex Ottobon. lat 356 (Br), a late thirteenth century Roman sacramentary with rubrics taken from the Ordinary of Innocent III. Together with an almost identical and only slightly later copy, now in the bibliothèque municipale of Avignon, 100, the manuscript itself has been extensively described by M. Andrieu,⁸ who considers both codices to be missals of the papal chapel. The importance of Andrieu's conclusion is obvious and induced Brinktrine to present the order of the Vatican codex as that of the Roman court.

Andrieu's statement, however, is not without difficulties, nor is Brinktrine's supposition entirely convincing. In addition to the fact that both manuscripts are not missals but only sacramentaries,⁹ it is evident that not every breviary, missal, or sacramentary with papal rubrics was necessarily written for or used in the papal chapel. The Breviary of St. Clare is already an example of this, but in the case of the two sacramentaries the Roman lectionary discovered by P. David¹⁰ in the bibliothèque nationale of Paris, cod. lat. 755, points to conclusions which are difficult to reconcile with the so far accepted opinion of Andrieu.

7. *Ephemerides liturg.* LI, 1937, 199 ff., reprinted in Alfonso, *op. cit.*, 120 ff.

8. *Le Missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIII^e siècle* in *Miscellanea Ehrle II, Studi e testi* 38, Roma 1924, 348 ff., 360 ff. Cf. J. Brinktrine, *Consuetudines liturgicae in functionibus . . . papalibus observandae e sacramentario cod. Vatican. Ottobon. 356 in Opuscula et textus . . . Series liturgica*, fasc. 6, Monasterio, 1935.

9. If the Roman Curia did not have missals at the end of the 13th century, the Friars Minor, who had *missalia plena* already before Haymo of Faversham's correction, did not follow the Curia in this point; obviously for practical purposes.

10. *Un légendier Romain du temps d'Innocent IV et d'Urbain IV*, Paris, 1936; Offprint from the *Collectanea theologica* (Lwów) XVII, 1936.

Both the sacramentaries and the lectionary have the same calendar and a corresponding Proper of the Saints, which are highly developed. They contain a series of Irish and Norman Saints, whose cult was widespread in France but foreign to the Roman tradition. Andrieu suggested that they were introduced into the liturgy of the Court about the middle of the thirteenth century, either by Innocent IV, who was living in Lyons for about seven years (1244-51), or by his successors Urban IV or Clement IV, who, being Frenchmen, occupied the Apostolic See for another seven years (1261-68). This supposition, however, seems rather unlikely. Neither during the whole of the twelfth century, when the papal court was wandering all over Europe, nor in the fourteenth century during the long sojourn at Avignon did the papal liturgy undergo such strong influence from local cult and liturgy as that which Andrieu relates to the few years above mentioned. Moreover, none of the contemporary and later liturgical documents of the Court contain any references to those feasts. The Proper of the Saints of the *Ordo Romanus XIII*, which is lacking in the edition of Mabillon but to be found in cod. 526 of the bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris,¹¹ is absolutely traditional. New changes are carefully noted,¹² but there is no trace of these French Saints. The fourteenth century copy of Innocent's Ordinary has interpolations of every kind; some of them are explicitly given as changes introduced by Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Urban IV, Boniface VIII, and Clement IV, but, again, among the new feasts there is no one for the Saints in question. Finally, the calendar of the lectionary in the bibliothèque nationale of Paris, has some slightly later additions, from which must be concluded that the book was not used at the papal court but rather in connection with St. Peter's.¹³ In view of these facts, it appears that Andrieu's assertions require further investigation.

11. Cf. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical II*, 49 ff.

12. For instance, fol. 100^{r-a}: *In festo sancti Nicholai fit officium ut de confessore episcopi et proprii canta[n]tur ymni ad na[tutinum; sic] ad laudes ad vesperas et versus et antiphone ad benedictus et magnificat et R Ex eius tumba cum prosa Sospitati et hoc de novo. Nam antiquitus non consuevit et utitur colore albo.*

13. See the study of David, *loc. cit.*

Considering in detail the order of the Mass as given in the Vatican sacramentary, Brinktrine's adherence to the opinion of Andrieu presents similar difficulties. First of all, the book was obviously not written for the use of the pontiff, even if it could be proved that it was intended for the papal chapel. The pope's order of the Mass is to be found both in the *Ordo Romanus XIV* of cardinal Stefaneschi¹⁴ and in a missal of Clement V (1305-14) now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, McClean 51,¹⁵ and it may well be regarded as originating at least in the second half of the thirteenth century. The liturgical text is identical with that of the (Franciscan) tradition of the *Quando presbyter*, which is to be found in C (except for the kiss of peace), the two pre-Haymonian Franciscan missals in the biblioteca nazionale of Naples, VI. G. 38,¹⁶ and the biblioteca comunale of Assisi, 607,¹⁷ and the many missals (M) founded on Haymo of Faversham's *Ordo missalis*. The rubrics, too, are traditional, but they have been completed so that the whole is proper to the pope only.

The order in the Vatican sacramentary has no relation whatsoever with this revision for the pope. On the contrary, it is very near to the traditional form of the *Quando sacerdos*, but there are both in the rubrics and in the text divergences, which

14. PL 78, 1185 ff., cap. 71.

15. Cf. Montague Rhodes James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the McClean collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1912, 101 ff. The order is repeated five times; the first time it is complete, the other times it begins after the Introit, exactly as in the *Ordo Romanus*, loc. cit., cap. 72. The arms of Clement V occur on fol. 22^r, 23^r and 98^r; those of Paul II (1464-71) in a later addition of prayers, fol. 132^r; whilst an addition, made under Sixtus IV in 1475, has an ornamentation of oak leaves and acorns, peculiar to the arms of the Roveri; see D. L. Galbreath, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, I. *Papal Heraldry*, Cambridge, 1930, 76 f., 85 f., 86. The orders, except that of the first Mass of Christmas, give after the gospel the ceremony to be performed before and after the sermon, including the prayers and rubrics for the indulgences.

16. Cf. A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter. Iter Italicum.*, Freiburg im Br., 1896, 120 f., and 313 ff., where he published the order of the Mass.

17. Fol. 36^{r-a}-39^{r-b}. There are two unusual rubrics, probably private additions; fol. 36^{v-a} for the Secreta: *Post hoc sequitur secreta. si est una. quando ad finem pervenitur. scilicet per dominum. hec dices alta voce. Si vero plura dices sub silentio . . . alta voce incipies*; another, fol. 38^{v-b}: *Libera nos quesumus . . . Patenam osculens [sic] et signa te.*

reveal that it was adapted for an episcopal church outside the papal palace.

The divergences in the rubrics are of two kinds. Some rubrics have been elaborated in order to suit the use of a bishop as well as of a priest:¹⁸

Quando (episcopus vel) presbiter parat se . . . reddito turribolo ipsi diacono (revertitur ad sedem, si est episcopus, et) perlegit introitum . . . antequam dicat *Dominus vobiscum* (si est sacerdos) deosculatur altare. (Si est episcopus ille qui celebrat, stans ante sedem dicit *Pax vobis* in sollempnibus diebus, et in ferialibus dicit *Dominus vobiscum*. Item) quando dat benedictionem diacono . . .

The words placed in brackets go beyond the general bearing of the other rubrics, which elsewhere in the order consider the celebrant as being only a priest. Moreover, the awkward way in which the bishop has been dragged into the matter suggests that it was not Br that was drawn directly from the original, but rather the other manuscripts; and consequently that Br can hardly be regarded as an official copy.

Then again the order lacks a few rubrics, which constantly are to be found in the tradition of M, while others have been rendered in a slightly different fashion. They are of little importance in the whole, but weaken once more the authority of the codex.

The exceptional position of Br reveals itself also in the following texts, which are foreign to the other manuscripts:

The versicle *Adiutorium nostrum . . . R Qui fecit celum* . . . just before the psalm *Iudica me*. According to M it is to be said before the *Confiteor*;

The versicle *Confitemini domino . . . R Quoniam in seculum . . .* instead of the versicle *Adiutorium* before the *Confiteor*;¹⁹

18. Brinktrine, *loc. cit.*, 199 and 201; Alfonso, *op. cit.*, 120 f.

19. The codex 526, in the Arsenal of Paris, contains a supplement to the *Ordo*

The absolution *Dominus vobiscum. Exaudiat nos omnipotens . . .* after the prayer *Aufer a nobis;*

The absolution *A vinculis peccatorum nostrorum . . .* after the prayer *Oramus te domine,²⁰*

The washing of the hands after the gospel with the prayer *Largire sensibus nostris . . .* followed by a prayer during the spreading of the corporal *In tuo conspectu domine hec nostra munera . . .*

The prayer *Ex latere Christi sanguis et aqua . . .* before *Deus qui humane substantie,* during the pouring of the water into the wine.

Thus the very strong suspicion arises that Br is not a completely reliable testimony for the tradition of the *Ordo.* Even should the order of the Avignon sacramentary conform to Br—which has still to be checked—the concordance would not be astonishing. Both codices belonged to the same Roman church, for which the lectionary of the bibliothèque nationale was also written. This church was in close relation with the papal court—this on the evidence of the rubrics—yet, it cannot be identified with the pope's chapel, unless it is proved that the tradition of both the Franciscan and Curial books is less authentic and trustworthy in the details above mentioned.

Returning to the order *Quando presbyter,* it seems advisable to collect first of all as much material as possible. I transcribe, there-

Romanus XIII. Beginning with the words *Dicto de officiis dicendus est de obsequiis que circa dominum papam fiunt,* it states that during the Mass of a chaplain in the presence of the pope, the latter is free to choose the versicle he likes; fol. 103^{r-a}: *et sic papa dicit Adiutorium nostrum vel Confitemini etc. et sic facit confessionem.*

20. Haymo of Faversham's order for private Mass and conventual Mass on ferial days, which is entitled *secundum consuetudinem Romane ecclesie* and, in fact, keeps to the tradition of M (at least for the texts), states explicitly: *(sacerdos) vadit ad dexterum cornu altaris et ibidem stans, sine aliquo versu precedente, incipit legere introitum . . .* The best modern edition of this order *Indutus planeta sacerdos* is that of V. Kennedy, *The Franciscan Ordo Missae in the thirteenth century* in *Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto) II, 1940, 204 ff. The conclusions of the introduction are entirely wrong. For other editions see van Dijk, *Notae quaedam, loc. cit.,* 140.

fore, the series of notes which in the Breviary of St. Clare follows the order of the Mass. Actually, it confirms the testimony of the tradition and as such contradicts that of Br.

The text which is to be found in the rubrics of M and Br is printed here in a somewhat smaller type. Corrections and additions, placed in square brackets, are founded on the manuscripts, as will be indicated in the variants.

[fol. CXVIII^{v-a}.] Hic notantur notule qualiter sacerdos agere debeat cum stat ad sacrificandum. scilicet qualiter debeat facere cruces super calicem aut super corpus domini et quando.

[1.] In primis cum incipere debet. *Te igitur.* inclinet se ante altare et cum omni humilitate dicat. *Te igitur.*

[2.] cum venerit ubi dicit. *et petimus.* ibi erigat se et osculetur altare et erectis manibus dicat *uti accepta.*

[3.] cum venerit ubi dicit, *hec dona.* ibi ter signet tam super hostiam quam super calicem.

[4.] cum venerit ubi dicit. *Quam oblationem tu deus in omnibus quesumus.* ibi communiter signet tam super hostiam quam super calicem.

[5.] cum venerit ubi dicit *Ut nobis* ibi separatis semel signet super hostiam et postea super calicem.

[6.] cum finierit *domini nostri ihesu christi* ibi accipiens hostiam reverenter levet eam iunctis manibus dicendo. *Qui pridie.* et teneat ipsam usque *Simili modo.*

[7.] cum finierit. *Hoc est enim corpus meum.* ibi reponat hostiam. et levet calicem dicens. *Simili modo.*

[8.] cum finierit ubi dicit *Item tibi gratias agens.* ibi deponat calicem in altare. tenens cum sinistra manu. et dextera benedicens. et benedictione facta iterum elevet [et teneat eum usque *Unde et memores.*]

n. 3 ter] tunc C n. 4 communiter <tercio> Br, M

n. 5 separatis] separatem C n. 6 ipsam] eam M

Simili modo] *Unde et memores* C; cf. lin. 21.

et . . . modo] om. Br. n. 8 deponat] ponat Br; deponat, reponat M
altare <et> Br et dextera] om. et Br benedicens] bene-

dicat Br, *multi cod.* M

iterum <parum> Br

et . . . memores] om. C, cf. lin. 16; ita M, om.

Br

[9.] cum finierit *In mei memoriam fatietis* ibi reponat calicem.

[10.] cum finierit ubi dicit. *de tuis donis ac datis.* ibi tres primas cruces fatiat super panem et calicem. quartam super panem. quintam super calicem.

[11.] cum finierit ubi dicit. *immaculatam hostiam.* ibi inclinet se sacerdos.

[12.] cum fuerit ubi dicit. *Ut quot[quot].* ibi erigat se et deoscul[le]tur altare.

[13.] cum finierit ubi dicit. *sacro sanctum filii tui corpus.* ibi primo super hostiam deinde super calicem signet. postea signet se ipsum dicens. *Omni benedictione.*

[14.] cum finierit *per eumdem christum dominum nostrum amen.* ibi percutiat pectus suum aliquantulum altius dicens. *Nobis quoque peccatoribus.*

[15.] cum fuerit ubi dicit. *Per quem hec omnia domine semper bona creas.* ibi tertio simul signet super hostiam et calicem dicens *Sanctificas.*

[16.] cum finierit *et presta[s] nobis* ibi discooperiat calicem et accepta hostia tertio cum ea signet super sanguinem dicens. *Per ipsum.*

[17.] cum finierit *Et in ipso.* ibi cum hostia bis inter se et calicem signet dicens *Est tibi deo patri.*

[18.] cum finierit *Omnis honor et gloria.* ibi cum dextera manu tenens hostiam. calicem parum erigat cum utraque manu et dicat. *Per omnia secula seculorum.* et sic deponat calicem. et cooperiat dicens. *Oremus preceptis salutaribus.*

[19. fol. CXVIII^{v-b}.] cum expleverit *Da propitius pacem.* in fine ubi dicit. *I[n] unitate spiritus sancti deus.* ibi accipiat patenam

n. 11. inclinet] inclinat Br, *multi cod.* M

n. 12. deosculate] osculetur Br, M

n. 13. se ipsum] se in facie Br dicens] *om.* Br.

n. 14. pectus suum aliquant.] aliquant. pectus suum C; *om.* aliquant. Br altius] *om.* Br

n. 15. tertio simul] super utroque tertio Br super . . . dicens] *om.* Br

n. 16. cum ea] eam Br

n. 17. dicens] *om.* Br

n. 18. deponat] reponat Br

n. 19. 2 accipiat] accipit Br signet] signat Br 4 cum hostiam] ita Br, M; M *etiam:* super calicem 7 m partem] ita Br, M 8 erecto <altius> Br dicat <aliquantulum quam prius> Br

et signet se cum ipsa. et submittens eandem hostie ponat hostiam in patena et discooperiat calicem. et [cum] reverentia frangat [hostiam] per medium. [super patenam] et medianam que est in dextera manu ponat in patena. et de illa que est in sinistra ac[ci]piat particulam. et que remanet in sinistra adiungatur particula que est in patena. et illa[m parte] que remanet in dextera teneat super sanguinem. et calice parum erecto dicat. *Per omnia secula seculorum.* Postmodum autem cum ipsa particula tertio signet tantum super sanguinem dicens *Pax domini sit semper.* et sic cum oratione que sequitur ponat particulam in sanguine dicens. *Fiat commixtio.*

[20.] Finita oratione. *Domine ihesu christe qui dixisti apostolis tuis ibi clevet se et osculetur altare dans pacem ministro dicit. Pax christi et ecclesie.* Postea inclinatus autem dicat hanc orationem. antequam communicet. *Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi.* Postea alia oratio *Perceptio corporis et sanguinis.*

[21.] Finita ista oratione. ibi remota palla super calicem accipiat patenam et erigat aliquantulum. et cum dextera manu recipiat corpus domini. et teneat super patenam dicens cum reverentia. et humilitate. *Panem celestem*. et orationem que sequitur. tribus vicibus. *Domine non sum dignus.* et sic signet se cum corpore et reverenter sumat. si quid [inde] remanserit in patena cum digito reponat in calice et sanguine.

Quocies sacerdos altare debeat osculari.

[1.] In primis facta confessione, posito incenso in altari. [sic] et cantatis secreto orationibus consuetis. accedat ad altare et osculatur.

[2.] Item cantato *Gloria in excelsis deo.* cum cantari debet. antequam dicat *Dominus vobiscum.* osculetur altare.

[3. Item cantato evangelio. antequam dicat *Dominus vobiscum.*
osculateur altare.]

[4.] Item receptis hostia et calice. incensatis hostia et altari. incipit orationem *Suscipe sancta trinitas*. Qua finita. erigat se. et osculetur altare. et dicat populo. *Orate fratres*.

n. 19. 11 ponat] mittat M sanguine] sanguinem M multi cod. ponat
.... dicens] om. Br

n. 20. dicit] dicens M *multi cod.* Pax . . . ecclesie] Pax tecum Br,
M dicat] dicit Br

n. 21. cum corpore] cum ipso corpore domini Br et] ac Br
reverenter <eum> Br inde] ita M si quid . . . calice] om. Br

n. 3. Item . . . altare] *om.* C

[5.] Item in principio secrete. inclinatus incipit. *Te igitur.* usque. *Uti accepta.* et tunc erigat se et osculetur altare.

[6.] Item cum venerit ad locum illum. *Supplices te rogamus* et inclinatus usque *quotquot.* debet se erigere. et osculari altare.

[7.] Item cantato *Agnus dei.* incipit orationem. *Domine ihesu christe.* Qua finita. osculetur altare. et dat pacem ministro.

[8.] Item post communionem. finitis orationibus secretis. antequam dicat *dominus vobiscum.* osculetur altare.

[9.] Item cantato *Benedicamus domino.* vel *Ite missa est.* et benedicto populo. et secrete dicta oratione. *Placeat tibi sancta trinitas.* osculetur altare et dicat. *Trium puerorum.*

Quando cantatur *Gloria in excelsis deo.* vel non.

A dominica de [fol. CXIX^{r-a}] adventu usque ad nativitatem domini non cantatur. nisi in festo .ix. lectionum. A septuagesima usque ad pascha non cantatur nisi sit festum .ix. lectionum. preterquam v^a. feria ante pascha. In reliquis autem dominicis et festivis diebus generaliter cantatur.

Quando cantatur *Credo in unum deum.*

In natali et in omnibus sollempnitatibus domini et in octavis earum. In festivitatibus sancte crucis et beate virginis usque ad octavas assumptionis. In festivitatibus angelorum. apostolorum. et octavis petri et pauli. et dominicis diebus. Et in dedicationibus ecclesiarum. Et in octava sancti laurentii. pro eo quod venit infra octavam beate virginis. Item in octava beati Iohannis baptiste pro eo quod est infra octavas apostolorum.

Item nota quod si infra ebdomadam cantetur missa de dominica. vel de spiritu sancto vel de beata virgine. sive de aliis sanctis non dicitur *Gloria in excelsis deo.* Item nota quod a pascha usque ad pentecosten dicitur *Gloria in excelsis deo.*

n. 8. antequam . . altare] *rubric in M, om. Br*

n. 9. secrete] *secreta C* Item . . . oratione] *rubric in M, om. Br* osculetur . . . dicat] *rubric in M, om. Br*

Quando cantatur Credo . . . pro eo quod venit] *pro eo quod veniunt C*

Item nota quod si festum .ix. lectionum venerit die dominico et fiet de festo dicimus *Credo in unum deum*. non propter festum. sed propter diem dominicum. nisi fuerit aliquod festum de predictis.

The treatise is composed of two parts, each of which is divided into two others. The first part is a collection of 21 rubrics for the ceremonies during the Canon, completed by a list of 9 (in the codex 8) notes for the kissing of the altar during Mass. The second part consists of two rather general rules for the use of both *Gloria* and *Credo*; they are followed by two short notes concerning the same matter.²¹

The statements of the second part are also to be found in the two sacramentaries²² and in the fourteenth century *Ordo Romanus XIV*.²³ They must have been drawn from the text on which the latter was based, probably the ceremonial of the Roman Curia, which so far has not been traced.²⁴ In fact, the rubrics were in force long before that *Ordo* was composed. Thus the exception made for the *Gloria* to be omitted in votive Masses of the Holy Ghost and Our Lady was customary in the Roman Curia at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Innocent III referred to it in a letter of 1206²⁵ and his reference was incorporated in the Decretals of Gregory IX.²⁶ Then, about the middle of the century, the tradition, being contrary to usages outside Rome, became a burning question in the Franciscan Order.²⁷

21. They have still to be compared with the notes on fol. 148 of the pre-Haymonian missal in the biblioteca nazionale of Naples, VI. G. 38. In that of Assisi, 607, they may have been erased, since the rubrics have been corrected with the aid of the more precise version of Haymo's *Ordo missalis*.

22. Cf. Andrieu, *Le Missel*, loc. cit., 368.

23. PL 78,1180, cap. 65.

24. Cf. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical II*, 287. Parts of it seem to have been preserved in cod. 526 in the Arsenal of Paris, see Andrieu, *op. cit.*, 49 ff., and in cod. Toulouse, bibliothèque municipale 67, cf. *op. cit.*, 210 ff. Also the various revisions of the *Ordinationes divini officii* must derive from it; see van Dijk, *Il carattere*, loc. cit., LIX, 198, note 92, and perhaps even Haymo's *Indutus planeta*.

25. *Epist. archiepiscopo Bracarensi*, PL 215,811.

26. Lib. III, tit. 40, *De celebratione Missae*, cap. 4; ed. Friedberg II, 636.

27. See van Dijk, *Notae quaedam*, loc. cit., 158 ff.

Can it hence be concluded that the *notulae* of the first part also derive from this ceremonial? It is difficult to answer this question directly, but similar collections were to be found elsewhere in official documents. Thus, Haymo of Faversham's treatise *Indutus planeta sacerdos* contains three lists similar to that for the kissing of the altar in C. They are entitled *De iunctione manuum*, *De inclinationibus*, and *De osculo altaris*.²⁸ A comparison between the latter series and that of C reveals that the copy of C is not quite complete. According to Haymo, the altar had to be kissed not eight but nine times, i. e., also between the gospel and the following *Dominus vobiscum*. The scribe of C has probably omitted this because of a homoioteleuton. Thus, after n. 2, ending with the words *osculetur altare*, there should follow what has been printed in square brackets under n. 3: *Item cantato evangelio . . . osculetur altare*.

Furthermore, it has to be noted that the list of C, as well as that of Haymo, has been conceived as complete in itself; that is to say, it was not intended as a mere completion of the preceding series of *notulae*. Otherwise, the kisses of the altar mentioned under the nn. 5, 6 and 7 could have been omitted. They are already mentioned under the nn. 2, 12 and 20.

The collection of the 21 notes at the beginning of the treatise has a forerunner in the *Ordo VII* of Andrieu's *Ordines Romani*, entitled *Qualiter quedam orationes et crucis in Te igitur agende*

28. The treatise was copied very often into the Roman missals instead of, together with or mixed up with the *Quando presbyter parat se*. In such cases the lists are often missing. So, for instance, in the codices: Einsiedlen, Stiftsbibliothek 635 (118), s. XIV, till the Canon, without lists; Florence, biblioteca Laurenziana Edil. 104, ao 1456, till the Canon; Florence, biblioteca Laurenziana, Edil. 106, s. XIV, till the Canon; Florence, biblioteca Laurenziana, Edil. 107, s. XIV, incomplete; Florence, biblioteca Laurenziana, Mugell. de Nemore 18, s. XIV, mixed up; Florence, biblioteca Riccardiana 282, s. XV; Florence, biblioteca Riccardiana 244, s. XIV/XV; Orleans, bibliothèque municipale 126, s. XV, incomplete; Oxford, Bodleian library, Miscell. liturg. 163 (S. C. 19293), ao 1462, mixed up, without lists; Paris, bibliothèque nationale, lat. 757, ao 1395, till the Canon, without lists; Paris, bibliothèque nationale, lat. 826, s. XIV, mixed up; Paris, bibliothèque nationale, lat. 828, c. 1350, without lists; Paris, bibliothèque nationale, lat. 848, without lists; Paris, bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10503, s. XIII; Rome, Vatican library, Ottobon, lat. 221, ao 1506; Rome, biblioteca Barbarini, XIV, 30, c. 1368; etc.

sunt.²⁹ Both the matter and the way of treatment are so different that no direct relation can be traced. However, such a relationship obviously exists between the *notulae* and the order *Quando presbyter parat se.*

The series runs from the beginning of the Canon to the taking of the chalice. Each of the *notulae* corresponds to one or more rubrics of the order. Instead of the description of the exact moment at which a certain ceremony has to be performed—*cum venerit* or *cum finierit . . . ibi*—the rubric, placed in the text of the Canon itself, reads simply *Hic*. The description of the rite that follows is just the rubric word for word. As has been noted above, these rubrics common both to C and M are given in a smaller type.

At the same time, however, it becomes clear that the *notulae* are much nearer to M than to Br. In the numbers 6, 8, 13, 15, (17), 19 and 21 several words are lacking in the latter. What is more, even the last two numbers of the second collection for the kissing of the altar are also to be found in M. In Br they were probably suppressed because of its adaptation for the use of a bishop.

Thus, the only important difference between the *notulae* and M is the formula for the kiss of peace (n. 20) which, just as in the order of the Mass in C, is *Pax Christi* instead of the traditional *Pax tecum*.³⁰ Here, perhaps, C preserves another local usage of the cathedral of Assisi.

For the time being it is impossible to decide about the exact value and position of the *notulae*. Their accuracy suggests that they are more than a private collection made on the rubrics of the order *Quando presbyter parat se.*

STEPHEN A. VAN DIJK, O.F.M.

Greyfriars,
Oxford.

29. Vol. I, Louvain 1931, 6. Text in PL 78, 1380, 983 f.

30. See *Micrologus*, cap. 18, PL 151,989.

NOTITIA INTUITIVA OF NON EXISTENTS ACCORDING TO PETER AUREOLI, O.F.M. (1322)

THIE HISTORICAL PROBLEM of the intuitive cognition of objects which do not exist has already been clarified as far as Ockham is concerned. We were able to confirm and even strengthen the position taken by Vignaux.¹ At the same time, however, textual evidence forced us to correct Hochstetter's interpretation of a minor aspect of Ockham's theory. This genuine scholar and gentleman, rightly considered to be the pioneer in the research of Ockham's philosophy, has informed us by letter that he agrees with our interpretation.² In any case, we were able to show on the basis of documents, that the basic scepticism, imputed by certain scholars to the *Venerabilis Inceptor*, lacks documentary evidence and is at best a projection of prejudices into the texts of Ockham. In order to arrive at sound conclusions from a solid and firm starting point, we pursued the tedious task of checking Ockham's texts with the manuscript tradition, a work which had been neglected by all who claimed to have discovered scepticism in Ockham.³ Thus, in a purely historical study and with no other purpose in mind than to ascertain the historical truth, we arrived at the following conclusions: Ockham maintains that intuitive cognition is normally and naturally had only of things which are present and existing. Supernaturally, however, it is possible to know intuitively that something is not present and not existing. But in either case, be the

1. Cfr. our article in *Traditio*, I (1943), 223-275, especially p. 239, footnote 37.

2. At this occasion we would like to mitigate our criticism of another position imputed by us to Hochstetter. What we have written in: The realistic conceptualism of William Ockham, in *Traditio IV* (1946), p. 312 ss, appears to us too severe. The eminent scholar has informed us, that the "after-thought" which we have imputed to him, was not in his mind.

3. Even Michalski's various studies are no exception as regards this point. Hochstetter and Baudry have consulted the manuscript tradition of Ockham for their studies of the philosophy of Ockham.

intuitive cognition naturally produced by the knowing faculty and the object itself, or supernaturally by the substituting power of God, the intuitive cognition is the basis of an evident assent to the judgments, that the object, intuitively known, exists (viz., if it does exist), or that the object intuitively known, does not exist (viz., if it does not exist). The evident assent to an object which is present or absent is to be explained in a similar manner. Consequently, the presence and existence of an object are not absolutely required for all intuitive knowledge. But they are required, absolutely and without any exception, if an assent is given to the judgment: The thing is present or the thing is existing. Ockham's theory of the intuitive cognition of non-existent things is so free from any trace of scepticism that, curiously enough, he has to defend it not against scepticism, but against the impossibility of an error. Personally, we see a weakness in Ockham's claim for infallibility as regards the intuitive cognition.

Our conclusion, therefore, is: If there is any basis for the accusation of scepticism in Ockham and up till now we have not discovered any texts at all that could substantiate such an accusation—it is certain that it cannot be found in Ockham's theory of intuitive cognition.

However, for reasons which escape our comprehension, Prof. Pegis is not convinced by the most explicit texts and by our interpretation thereof. This time we do not intend to answer his most recent and somewhat acrid criticism,⁴ for apparently it is useless to answer him. Instead we shall proceed with positive historical research, and we shall try to do so without prejudice.

There are still many points to be investigated. We do not know much about the origin and further development of the theory of intuitive and abstractive cognition, after it was so forcefully thrown into the debate by the Doctor Subtilis. We

4. Cfr. Anton C. Pegis. Some recent interpretations of Ockham, in *Speculum* XXIII (1948) 452-463.

had hoped that Father Sebastian Day⁵ would go into these matters in his study devoted to this topic. However, circumstances forced him to limit his research only to Scotus and Ockham. Yet, between Scotus and Ockham, there are many other scholastics who have made important contributions to our problem. At it appears to us at the present, the main figure in the development of the theory of intuitive cognition in the period between Scotus and Ockham was the Franciscan Archbishop, Peter Aureoli, the *Doctor Facundus*.

Before we take up Aureoli's teaching on the *notitia intuitiva* of non-existents, a few remarks about the texts used seem to be in order. For our study we have used almost exclusively the second question of the prologue to the Commentary on the Sentences, and that in its second redaction. It is well enough established that there are two redactions of the first book of Aureoli's Commentary. The edition made by the Franciscan Cardinal Constatin Sarano (Rome 1596)⁶ was used as basis. We compared it, however, with ms Borgh. 329 of the Vatican Library, which according to the *explicit* was written in 1317; we found almost no variants.⁷ The first redaction of Aureoli's Commentary is probably a *Reportatio*. In order to allow the reader a comparison between the first and second redaction we have added the most important part of this yet unedited *Reportatio* in an appendix, using the ms. Borgh. 123 of the Vatican Library.

5. *Intuitive Cognition. A Key to the Significance of the Later Scholastics*, Franciscan Institute Publications, Philosophy Series No. 4. The Franciscan Institute, 1947.

6. For further details see Rainulf Schmücker, O.F.M., *Propositio per se nota, Gottesbeweis und ihr Verhältnis nach Petrus Aureoli*, Franziskanische Forschungen, 8, Werl, 1941. Cfr. especially: *Stand der Forschung über Petrus Aureoli*, pp. 4 ss.

7. This statement holds for the texts compared by us. Cfr., however, Rainulf Schmücker, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ss, who maintains and shows by a few striking examples that the edition is not always trustworthy. I am grateful to Fr. Rainulf Schmücker for having sent to me the photostat material of our common teacher, Raymund Dreiling, O.F.M.

I. CRITICISM OF SCOTUS' THEORY ON INTUITIVE COGNITION

The importance of Scotus in regard to the theory of intuitive and abstractive cognition is shown by the fact that Aureoli, like Ockham, starts the explanation of his own theory with a critical discussion of that of Duns Scotus. The *Doctor Facundus* summarizes Scotus' position as follows: According to Scotus, intuitive cognition is that cognition which concerns the presence and the existence of a thing and which terminates at the thing itself. Abstractive cognition, on the other hand, is that cognition which abstracts from being and non-being, from existence and non-existence and from presentiality.⁸ He explains the difference between the two by using an experience of our daily life. We can have an intuitive cognition of a rose, when we are looking at a rose which is present. We have an abstractive cognition of the rose, when we consider its quiddity and nature.⁹

Aureoli immediately takes issue with Scotus on two points. First, he will not concede that intuitive cognition cannot be separated from the actuality and presentiality of the object which is intuitively known. The second point concerns the distinction between intuitive and abstractive cognition as such, viz., Scotus' contention that intuitive cognition is terminated at the actuality and the presentiality and real existence of an object, and that abstractive cognition abstracts from these conditions and does not terminate at them.¹⁰

8. Quaestio prol. 2; *ed. cit.*, p. 23a: "Est enim intuitiva quae concernit rei praesentialitatem et existentiam et terminatur ad rem ut in se existentem. Abstractiva vero dicitur, quae abstrahit ab esse et non esse, existere et non existere, et a praesentialitate."

9. We shall abstain from discussing the faithfulness of Aureoli's account of Scotus' position. In fact, we do not think that he is quite faithful in this. Cfr. for an exact account of Scotus' doctrine: Sebastian Day, O.F.M., *op. cit.*, especially pp. 48-70, where the doctrine on intuitive cognition in the *Quodlibeta* is studied to which, as it seems, Aureoli refers.

10. "In aliis tamen duobus videtur dicere minus vere: Primo quidem quod dicit, intuitivam notitiam non posse separari ab actualitate et praesentialitate obiecti. Secundo vero, quod definit intuitivam notitiam illam esse, quae terminatur ad actualitatem, praesentialitatem et existentiam realem obiecti, abstractivam vero, quae abstrahit ab his, et non terminatur ad ea." p. 25a.

It is obvious, therefore, that the crucial difference between Aureoli's and Scotus' opinion lies in this: Scotus excludes by his definition the possibility of an intuitive cognition of non-existents. Aureoli, on the contrary, admits it. This principal difference entails a second one concerning the distinction of *intuitive* and *abstractive cognition*.

Before refuting the arguments advanced in favor of the Scotistic position that intuitive cognition is only of present and existing objects, Aureoli sets out to prove his own and opposite position by appealing to reason and experience to prove that intuitive cognition may be had of non-existents.

According to Aureoli, the best way to prove something is to show that it exists or that it actually does happen. For all our knowledge takes its starting point in observation of facts, and these observed facts form the basis for our scientific knowledge. Rightly, therefore, on the grounds of Aristotelean epistemology, Aureoli places purely logical and aprioristic reasonings on a second level, without, however, denying their value. He first looks to his own experience for evidence.¹¹ Now, is there any experiential evidence for the fact that intuitive cognition can be had of a thing that is not present or not existing? Aureoli is very careful in answering this question. He is not convinced, as we shall see later, that we can prove by direct experience the existence of intellective intuitive cognition. We do, however, experience intuitive cognition of the senses. Therefore, he looks for such evidence first on the level of sense cognition. Here, in fact, it can be easily shown that man, even under normal conditions, can have intuitive sense cognition of an object which does not exist. Aureoli lists and explains five experiences of this kind in order to substantiate his claim.

There is, for instance, the fact mentioned by St. Augustine in the fourth chapter of the eleventh book on the Blessed Trinity. This experience concerns "after-images", which are well-known

11. ". . . prima via experientiae, cui adhaerendum est potius quam quibus-cumque logicis rationibus, cum ex experientia habeat ortum scientia, et communes animi conceptiones, quae sunt principia artis, inde sumantur, secundum Philosophum 1º Metaphysicae . . ." p. 25a.

to psychologists. When the eye is closed, after it has been exposed to a strong light, we still see various lights and colors which change from one color to the other. Therefore, we still *see* lights, even though we are no longer exposed to the causality of the object; in other words, it does not matter, whether the object exists or not, the object can be seen. Thus, it is not only possible, but it is a fact, that we have sense intuitive cognition of an object which is not present or which does not exist. Aureoli also refers to the fact that we experience objects in our dreams with all five of our senses. Furthermore, he adds, people who are terrified may see or hear things which do not exist at all, and magicians may create illusions, and finally people with especially soft eyes will see everything in a certain light, if their eyes were strongly exposed to it.¹²

From these experienced facts, Aureoli draws the general conclusion that the existence of an object or its presence is not required for sensitive intuitive cognition, and that, even under natural conditions.¹³ What is thus true for sense intuitive cognition, can also be applied to intellectual intuitive cognition, as Aureoli goes on to show. However, for systematical reasons, we shall deal with this problem later.

Against this proof from experience, there are a few objections at hand which Aureoli answers briefly without going into the matter too deeply. First, it may be objected that such visions of things which do not exist, are false, erroneous and deceptive, and hence they do not prove that intuitive cognition can be had of non-existent. Secondly, even if it is granted that someone may have the above-mentioned experiences, this does not prove that he has intuitive cognition; for he merely judges that he is seeing, and this judgment is located in the "sensus communis". Aureoli answers summarily that an erroneous and

12. *Loc. cit.*, p. 25b.

13. Aureoli also adds a third proof, which, however, we shall not discuss, since it is better treated in the "secunda via": "Praeterea, potentior est Deus quam sit ars vel natura; sed per artem fit visio absque praesentialitate visibilis, ut patet in Iudicatis, et per naturam in somniantibus, timentibus et infirmis, ut supra docuerunt Commentator et Augustinus; ergo Deus multo fortius hoc facere potest." p. 25b-26a.

false vision is certainly a vision or an intuitive cognition and that the judgment presupposes that there is a cognition to be judged which in our case has to be located in the particular senses, and therefore, must be an intuitive cognition.¹⁴

The second way to prove that intuitive cognition can be given without the presentability and actual existence of the object intuitively known, is more *a priori*. Anticipating the proof of Ockham and using the principle of the omnipotence of God, Aureoli states: God can make everything that does not imply a contradiction; in particular, He can conserve the one basis of a relation, even if the other basis is destroyed and the relation therefore gone. To show that this is possible, Aureoli cites this example. Between Sortes and Plato, the son of Sortes, there is the relation of paternity. Now if Plato is destroyed, the relation of paternity is also gone, but the basis of this relation, Sortes, is still in existence. The same is true for both intellectual and sensitive intuitive cognition. For such intuitive cognitions are something absolute, and they are the basis of a relation between them and the object, intuitively known. Hence, if the object, intuitively known, is destroyed, or no longer present, God can, nevertheless, conserve the absolute thing, which is intuitive cognition, without the relation towards the object. In this case, then, we have an intuitive cognition without an actual relation towards the object which is intuitively known.¹⁵

The emphasis lies, of course, on the contention that the *notitia intuitiva* is something absolute, and as such, is not a relation.

14. p. 26a. We are not taking up here the epistemological problem involved in these facts. Aureoli faces difficulties of his own which are too mechanically avoided by Ockham who defines intuitive cognition in such a manner that these instances do not come under it.

15. "Secunda via vero procedit a priori. Certum est enim, quod Deus potest facere, quidquid non implicat contradictionem, et conservare fundamentum relationis corrupto termino et transeunte respectu, ut Sortes conservatur filio eius Platone corrupto et transit paternitas Sortis; sed visio intellectiva et sensitiva, et universaliter omnis intuitiva notitia, est aliquid absolutum fundans respectum ad rem intuitive cognitam; ergo Deus poterit conservare intuitionem huiusmodi absolutam, corrupto respectu et rei praesimalitate non existente." p. 26a.

As to the problem whether a relation is an entity outside the mind or whether it is only in the mind, see d. 30 q. 1. Aureoli does not consider it to be a real entity.

Aureoli, therefore, rejects an objection which presupposes that the relation to the object intuitively known is inseparably united with the *notitia intuitiva*.¹⁶

The second proof is also reminiscent of Ockham's teaching. It, too, takes into account the omnipotence of God, but this time in a more limited manner, viz., as regards the activity of secondary causes. It takes as basis the commonly accepted truth that God can conserve an object without that on which this object is dependent as on its efficient cause. For God is able to suspend the activity of every creature and to conserve the effect of its causality. Now, intuitive cognition is something which depends on the object only for its effective causality, and not for the constitution of its quiddity. For the *notitia intuitiva* is, according to Aureoli, a quality and not a relation. Since intuitive cognition is an absolute quality and not a relative quality, God can conserve the quality effected by the object without the causality of the object, that is, even if the object is no longer present or existing.¹⁷

It is on the basis of these proofs that Aureoli then proceeds to show that certain objections, which he seems to attribute to

16. *Loc. cit.*, p. 26b. We are not going to discuss this particular problem, since it leads us too far afield. Aureoli concludes his refutation by saying: "Idcirco res dependens (*that is a relation*) realiter et res quae non dependet non sunt eadem res; sed intuitiva notitia secundum realitatem absolutam est independens ab omni alio extra se formaliter, etsi effective dependeat a Deo et ab obiecto; secundum id autem quod est in ea respectus ad obiectum intuitum est res dependens realiter ad obiectum tamquam ad terminum, cum omnis respectus, quoad sui realitatem egeat termino; ergo impossibile est, quod absolutum intuitivae notitiae et respectus eius ad actualitatem rei sint eadem res; ergo poterunt per divinam potentiam separari."

17. "Praeterea Deus potest omnem rem conservare absque omni alia re, a qua non dependet nisi effective; potest enim suspendere effectivam causalitatem omnis creaturae conservato eius effectu; sed absolutum intuitivae notitiae est quaedam res de praedicamento qualitatis, secundum sic ponentes, et per consequens non dependens ab obiecto nisi effective tantum; si enim quidditative exigeret formaliter et essentialiter ad eius realitatem obiectum per modum termini, sicut ad esse relationis exigitur essentialiter terminus, si, inquam ita esset de hac realitate absoluta intuitivae notitiae, sequeretur, quod non esset realitas de praedicamento qualitatis, nec haberet rationem absoluti; ergo necesse est dicere, quod illam realitatem, quae ibi est absolute, Deus possit absque obiecti praesentialitate conservare." p. 26b.

Scotus, are not valid. We were not able to locate these objections in Scotus, nor is it necessary to discuss them. It suffices to note that Aureoli's basic solution assumes that intuitive cognition is something absolute, and therefore, can be separated from the object. Exception must be made only with regard to the last objection and its solution. It deals with an objection which we also encounter in Ockham, and which was urged against the *Venerabilis Inceptor* by the Masters in Avignon. The objection runs as follows: If intuitive cognition did not necessarily require at the same time the actuality of the object, then the beatific cognition could be had without the actuality and the existence of God; for intuitive cognition of God is beatific. But this seems to be absurd.¹⁸

The answer of Aureoli concedes that it is impossible to have an intuitive cognition of God under the hypothesis that God does not exist. Hence, the absurdity advocated in the objection can never occur. But the reason for the impossibility of such an intuitive cognition is not to be found in the nature of the intuitive cognition itself; for as far as intuitive cognition is concerned, it could be also of God who, *per impossible*, did not exist. The reason lies rather in the fact that intuitive cognition essentially requires God as cause and as conserving principle, since intuitive cognition is a contingent fact.¹⁹

Aureoli concludes his critical review of Scotus' doctrine on intuitive cognition by stating that abstractive cognition, too, is incorrectly defined by Scotus. The central point is, of course, the problem whether the intuitive cognition terminates at the actuality, existence and presence of the object known intuitively, while abstractive cognition does not terminate at these conditions of the object. Aureoli has shown that presence, actuality and existence of the object is not required for intuitive cognition, and he now briefly states that abstractive cognition cannot be

18. p. 25a. The nearest we could find to this text is Scotus *Quodl.* q. 6, n. 8; ed. *Vives*, t. 25, p. 244b. We wonder whom Aureoli quotes.

19. "Ultimum etiam non procedit, quia intuitiva notitia de Deo non potest esse Deo (de eo *ms.*) non existente; quae quidem impossibilitas non oritur ex hoc quod actualitatem Dei exigat in ratione obiecti, sed in ratione causantis et conservantis." p. 27a.

correctly defined by saying that it does not terminate at the existence, present actuality of the thing abstractively known. For, the actuality, presentiality and existence of a thing can be abstractively known, a point, by the way, which seems to be accepted by Scotus himself.²⁰

II. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INTUITIVE AND ABSTRACTIVE COGNITION

It is easier to criticize than to make a positive contribution to the solution of a problem. This, Aureoli, too, experienced. It was easy for him to reject Scotus' opinion, but it was not so easy exactly to specify and describe the real difference between the two kinds of cognition. Since the difference cannot be found in the object or in certain determinations of the object, such as its existence and presence and actuality, where, then, do we have to discover it?

According to Aureoli, the main difficulty in describing the difference between the two types of cognition lies in the lack of proper words. Our language is too poor; it does not have a proper name for every reality and for every fact. Because of this poverty we lack the exact words to signify the essential features of intuitive cognition. We have, therefore, to make up for this deficiency and introduce new terms, since language has to be shaped on reality, and not vice versa.²¹

Since Aureoli felt himself forced to introduce new terms, it would seem advisable to present his description of intuitive

20. "Ex praedictis patet, quod non bene definitur abstractiva notitia, dicendo, quod est illa, quae non terminatur ad rei existentiam et actualitatem praesentem, sed abstrahit ab eis. Probatum enim fuit supra in fine secundi articuli, quod immo actualitas, praesentialitas et existentia rei possunt cognosci abstractive, et quod etiam non bene definitur intuitiva, dicendo quod sit illa quae coexigit rei praesentialitatem, propter rationes superius immediate inductas." p. 27a.

21. "Et idcirco videndum est, quae sit differentia istarum notitiarum ad invicem, et qualiter possit quaelibet definiri. Est igitur intuitiva notitia valde difficilis ad notificandum, et maxime propter penuriam nominum propriorum; et idcirco auctoritate philosophica, quae fingere verba docet, ut non sermoni res, sed rei sit sermo subiectus. . . ." p. 27a.

cognition in his own words, and after that, to give his explanation of it. Intuitive cognition is described as:

*Cognitio directa, praesentialis eius super quod transit, obiective actuativa, et quasi positiva existentiae.*²²

In this definition there are four conditions or characterizations, which, if properly understood, will distinguish intuitive cognition from abstractive cognition. In order to fix the meaning of the new terms so that they cannot be confused, Aureoli prefers to explain them on the level of sensitive intuitive cognition. And here he selects the most familiar type of cognition, viz., visual intuitive cognition, or, as he prefers to call it, *notitia ocularis*. This is particularly well suited for such an explanation, since its counterpart, imagination, or *notitia imaginaria*, is a kind of abstractive cognition and is easily susceptible of analysis. Also, the distinction between visual and imaginative cognition recommends itself as an exemplary case since it is manifest that these two cognitive acts are not distinct through the object or through anything on the part of the object, but only by themselves and by their mode of cognition; for everything that can be seen can also be imagined. How, then, do the above four conditions apply to visual and imaginative cognition?

The first condition means that intuitive cognition is characterized by a kind of directness and immediacy. Aureoli uses the expression *rectitudo*. Imaginative cognition does not concern or "go over" (*transit*) the existence of a thing with such an immediacy as intuitive cognition or the act of seeing does; it rather intends or concerns existence in a mediate manner by way of inferring it, that is, by making use of the relation of cause or of effect or of sign. On the other hand, visual or ocular cognition intends directly the existence of a thing in an immediate manner.²³ Hence it is the intentionality of immediacy and

22. The first redaction reads: "Ipsa est praesentialis actuativa et praesentiae exhibitiva, sive res sit praesens sive non."

23. "Prima quidem conditio est rectitudo; imaginatio enim non transit nec apprehendit rei existentiam immediate, sed quasi argutive ex causa vel effectu vel signo illius. . . . Ocularis autem notitia non argutive, sed directe et immediate transit super existentiam rei." p. 27a.

directness towards the existence of an object, not the existence of the object itself, which characterizes visual cognition or the act of seeing.

Aureoli tries to make clear this difference in the intentionality of visual and imaginative cognition by two examples. An astronomer sitting in his room does not actually see an eclipse which may be happening at that very moment; but he can imagine it. His imagination, however, is caused more by acts of inferring, viz., by calculation. In this way he may even imagine that the eclipse is really happening at this very moment. Nevertheless, his imagination is not characterized by the intentionality of immediacy towards the existence of the eclipse, since he is well aware of the fact that he does not actually see the eclipse. In a similar way a physician may have an imaginative knowledge of a certain sickness, by arguing from certain indications or signs in the body or behavior of the sick man, but he knows that he does not see the sickness. His imaginative cognition lacks the intentionality of immediacy towards the actual existence of the fact. Hence, imaginative cognition is characterized by the intentionality of mediacy and inference towards the object; visual cognition, however, is characterized by the intentionality of immediacy towards the existence of the object.²⁴

The second property by which intuitive or visual cognition is distinguished from abstract or imaginative cognition is the intentionality of presentiarity. As above, we can, of course, imagine that a certain thing or event is present. The astronomer, for instance, can imagine that an eclipse is now present and he can imagine the circumstances that accompany it, how far it is advanced, etc. But as long as he merely imagines the eclipse, the intentionality of this act does not reach or concern the presentiarity of the object. Considered in itself the act of imagining has the intentionality to the absence of an object rather than towards its presence. Ocular or visual cognition, however, is precisely characterized by the fact that it "presents" the object to the knowing subject. In other words, it has the

24. "Ut patet de astrologo, qui existens in camera imaginatur eclipsis actualitatem propter calculationem; medicus morbum in stomacho propter signum quod appetit in urina." p. 27a.

intentionality of presentability essentially connected with itself. Even if the object is absent, ocular cognition still has the intentionality of presentability, and therefore the object is seen as a present one; such is the case, for instance, in illusions.²⁵

The third property of visual intuitive cognition is what Aureoli calls the *actuatio obiecti*. Ocular vision has the inherent tendency to actuate the object, that means, it has the tendency to make the object to appear in its actuality. This actualizing tendency is not present in imaginative or abstractive cognition. It is true, imaginative cognition may concern the actuality of an object also, for instance, the actuality of the eclipse, since the astronomer can imagine that it is just now occurring. But this imaginative cognition of the astronomer does not actuate the eclipse, his act does not, as it were, place the actuality of the eclipse before his eyes, for the intentionality towards the actuality of the object is lacking in his imaginative cognition. It is just this, however, that is present in visual cognition and which characterizes it. It actuates the eclipse in cognition and makes it appear before the eye, in its actuality, even if it does not have any actuality, as is the case with illusions.²⁶

The fourth property seems to be merely a further determination of the preceding ones. Aureoli states that visual intuitive cognition has the tendency of positing existence, that is, it is *positiva existentiae*. This means, that it has the intentionality towards the existence of an object and, therefore, posits the

25. "Secunda vero conditio est praesentialitas; imaginatio namque, quantumcumque transeat super praesentialitatem rei imaginando, scilicet, quod nunc est eclipsis praesens in tanta quantitate et cum omnibus circumstantiis, tamen ipsam imaginatur ut quoddam absens quantum ad modum tendendi, ut quasi modo absenti feratur super praesens. Ocularis autem notitia fertur super praesens modo praesimali, immo, et super absens modo praesimali, sicut patet in ludificatis et in cunctis experientiis superius inductis: quamvis enim obiecta sint absentia, si visio sit in oculo, feretur super ea modo praesimali, ut patet." *Loc cit.*, p. 27a-b.

26. "Tertia conditio est actuatio obiecti; imaginatio namque, quantumcumque feratur super actualitatem rei, ut dum imaginatur actualitatem eclipsis, non tamen transit modo actuativo, quasi ex vi sua ponat eclipsim in esse actuali. Ocularis autem notitia ita habet annexan actuationem, quod obiectum facit apparere in sua actualitate, esto etiam, quod in actu non sit, ut appareat in ludificatis." p. 27b.

object in the appearance of existence. This tendency and intentionality is not inherent in imaginative cognition; it may be of existence, since existence can be known by imaginative cognition, but it does not tend by its very nature to the existentiality of the object. If we are allowed to use a modern expression, we could render Aureoli's thought by saying, that visual cognition "existentializes" its object, whilst imaginative cognition is neutral with regard to existence.²⁷

After these explanations, in which Aureoli is constantly searching for expressions suitable to describe an elementary act, we can summarize with him the description of intuitive cognition as follows:

Bene itaque dicitur, quod intuitiva notitia est cognitio directa—contra argutionem—, et quod est praesentialis—contra modum absentem, quo imaginatio fertur super res praesentes—, et quod est actuatio obiecti, et positiva existentiae, quoniam realem existentiam eius et actualem positionem eius facit apparere, esto etiam quod non sit.

Abstractive cognition, then, is just the opposite, and can be characterized as follows:

Et per oppositum patet, quod imaginativa notitia caret et abstrahit ab hac quadruplici conditione, quae nec directe nec praesentialiter, nec actuative, et existentiae positive transit super obiectum, esto etiam, quod imaginetur ipsum existere et esse in actu et praesentem fore.²⁸

From all this the main point becomes clear; Aureoli does not find the difference between abstractive and intuitive cognition on the part of the object or in any determination on the part of the object. He finds it solely in the cognitions themselves. Intuitive and abstractive cognition, at least on the level of sense cognition, are distinct by themselves, that is, by their specific nature. Intuitive cognition has the inherent intentionality of

27. "Quarta vero conditio est positio existentiae, et quasi reddit in idem: ocularis enim notitia res illas, quae realiter non existunt facit apparere ut realiter existentes." p. 27b.

28. *Loc. cit.*, p. 27b.

immediacy towards the presence, actuality and existence of an object, whilst abstractive cognition does not have or is indifferent to these conditions of the object.

III. INTUITIVE AND ABSTRACTIVE COGNITION OF THE INTELLECT

Up till now we have dealt mainly with intuitive and abstractive cognition on the level of the senses, though several times during these discussions, Aureoli pointed out that the findings also hold for intellective intuitive and abstractive cognition. For systematical reasons we shall now briefly review Aureoli's reasons for postulating this twofold cognition also for the intellect.

In the fourth article of the question under consideration Aureoli formulates the thesis: Intuitive and abstractive cognition can be had in the intellect.²⁹ He then proceeds to prove it in two ways.

The first is of a philosophical nature. It makes use of a principle or rather of a topical rule which we shall call "principle of hierarchy" and which really belongs to the *locus a minori* of the scholastics. The meaning of this maxim comes down to this: Suppose, there is a lower faculty and a higher faculty, and suppose, also, that there are two things in the lower faculty, one of which is more perfect than the other; let us call the more perfect "a" and the less perfect "b". Now, if "b" is found in the higher faculty, then, it must be postulated that "a" is also found there. In order to apply this principle, Aureoli proves first that intuitive cognition is nobler than abstractive cognition. He shows that it excels abstractive cognition for several reasons: There can be no doubt that we desire more strongly to see something than merely to imagine it. Thus, if someone sees an object, he has no desire to imagine it, but if he imagines it he also desires to see it. But that which is more desirable is also more noble. For a similar reason, intuitive cognition is nobler than abstractive cognition, because it is more pleasing, as every-

29. "Notitia intuitiva et imaginaria sunt possibles in intellectu." p. 28a. Aureoli also prefers to call intellective abstractive cognition "notitia imaginaria".

body will admit, since it is more pleasing to see a rose, than only to imagine it. Again, the clearness of intuitive cognition argues for its higher perfection, since it lacks a certain kind of darkness inherent in abstractive cognition. The same has to be said as regards the certitude of these two cognitions; for intuitive cognition is nothing else than knowing an object by experience, whilst abstractive cognition is cognition by imagination.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that intuitive cognition is more perfect and basic and final and that it more perfectly unites the subject with the object than does abstractive cognition.

If we now apply our “principle of hierarchy”, we must admit that intuitive cognition is given in the intellect. For everybody admits that the intellect has abstractive cognition. But we have proved that intuitive cognition is more perfect than abstractive cognition, and since the intellect is a higher faculty than the sense-faculty, therefore, the nobler cognition must be found also in the nobler faculty. Therefore, the intellect has both, intuitive and abstractive cognition.⁸⁰

Besides this proof, advocated also by Scotus and Ockham in a slightly modified form, Aureoli advances another proof for the fact of intuitive cognition in the intellect; this time, however, on theological grounds. It takes for granted the possibility of beatific vision. For intuitive cognition means to see face to face, and that is exactly what the beatific vision consists of, as St. Paul states (I Cor. 13, 12). Hence, intuitive cognition of the intellect is certainly possible.⁸¹

30. “Clarum est namque quod intuitiva notitia est nobilior quam sit imaginaria, propter multa: Primo quidem, quia desiderabilior est; imaginans enim aliquid desiderat illud videre, videns autem non desiderat imaginari. Secundo vero, quia delectabilior est; delectabilius enim est videre rosam aut rem amatam quam ipsam imaginari. Tertio quoque, quia clarior est; imaginans enim aliquam rem adhuc experitur in quibusdam tenebris se manere respectu illius rei, videns autem est in omnimoda notitiae claritate. Quarto vero, quia certior est; est enim sensui veritas, phantasiae autem deceptio et fallibilitas tribuitur in secundo de Anima. Quinto vero ex istis sequitur, quod est perfectior atque ultimior, unde ultimate et perfectissime unit obiecto. Si igitur intellectiva notitia nobilior est sensitiva, necesse est in ipsam poni nobilissimum modum cognoscendi, et per consequens quasi intuitivum. Constat autem de alio, videlicet de modo imaginario, ergo in intellectu utraque notitia poni debet.” p. 28b.

31. “Praeterea: Notitia facialis et intuitiva ac praesentialis idem esse videtur.

It is somewhat surprising that Aureoli only presents a topical or dialectical and a theological proof for the actual possibility of intuitive cognition in the intellect. We should expect from this scholastic, who generally displays a fine sense for psychological analysis, that he would use reasons taken from psychological observations, especially from introspection, as Scotus does.³² However, as far as we could ascertain such psychological data in favor of intellective intuitive cognition are lacking in Aureoli. But this omission is by no means accidental. Aureoli has indicated the reason for it. He believes that we do not experience intellective intuitive cognition. We do not experience it, he says, because in this life our intellectual activity is intimately bound up with our sense-cognition. This fact prevents us from recognizing the intellective intuitive cognition.³³

From the preceding discussions it is clear that Aureoli emphasizes a certain parallelism between sensitive intuitive cognition and intellective intuitive cognition. Does this parallelism go so far that the same differences hold in exactly the same manner on both levels of cognition? In particular does Aureoli think that intellectual intuitive cognition can be of an object which is neither present nor existent? In our opinion, there can be no doubt that Aureoli admits intellective intuitive cognition of an object that is not present, and there is much evidence in favor of the statement that he admits it also for an object which is not existing.

The first point can be easily shown. After the enumeration of experiences which are advanced in order to prove that visual cognition can exist without the presence and existence of the object, Aureoli proceeds, by using his "principle of hierarchy"

Sed in intellectu ponitur notitia facialis secundum Scripturam; ait enim Apostolus, quod: Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate (id est imaginarie), tunc autem facie ad faciem (hoc est intuitive); ergo illae notitiae ponendae sunt in intellectu."

32. Cfr. Sebastian Day, *op. cit.*, p. 125 ss.

33. "Licet pro statu viae non experiamur intuitivam propter coniunctionem cum intuitione sensitiva; quamvis enim intellectus geometrae triangulum describentis in pulvere et de angulis demonstrantis per intellectum intueatur triangulum, non tamen distinguit per experientiam, quia simul intuetur per sensum. . . ." p. 28a.

to prove that intellective intuitive cognition can also exist without the presence of its object. His first proof may appear ridiculous, if we do not keep in mind his "principle of hierarchy". For he advocates the etymological meaning of the word "intueri". "Intueri" means an act of seeing and beholding and is imposed to denote the visual act of the senses. Though it is primarily used for sense cognition, it is also transferred to intellective cognition. Since sensitive intuitive cognition is so perfect that it does not need the presence of its object, the higher power, viz., intellective cognition does not require the presence of its object either.³⁴

In fact, the intellective intuitive cognition has an even better chance of taking place without the presence of its object as a necessary requirement. For the intellect is more abstract, that is, it is more separated and freed from matter and the conditions of materiality, and for this reason it is more independent of the object than are the senses. Since we proved that sensitive cognition can be separated from the actual presence of its object, *a fortiori* this is possible for the intellectual intuitive cognition.³⁵

It is true, Aureoli mentions in his proofs only the presence of an object and he states expressly only that presentiality is not required for an intellectual intuitive cognition. Nevertheless, we have every reason to apply these proofs also to the existence of an object. For, he certainly does not deny that existence is not required, and even presupposes that existence is not required, when discussing the possibility of having an intuitive cognition of God, even if God did not exist (cfr. footnote 19). The main reason, however, for our contention is found in the following discussions concerning the certitude of intuitive cognition, where Aureoli admits, at least, that intellective

34. "Ex his ergo experientiis potest probari intentum: Non plus enim exigit intuitiva notitia intellectus rei praesentialitatem quam intuitiva quae est in sensu; quod patet ex hoc, quod nomen intuitivae notitiae derivatum est a sensu ad intellectum." p. 25b.

35. "Et iterum, intellectus est abstractior et magis independens quam sensus; sed probatum est multiplici experientia quod intuitio sensitiva separari potest a reali praesentialitate obiecti; ergo multo fortius intuitio intellectus poterit separari." p. 25b.

intuitive cognition in the supernatural order, can be had without the existence of its object.

Aureoli's defense of the possibility of an intellectual intuitive cognition is met with the charge of scepticism. If we admit that such a cognition is possible and if this possibility is established on the ground that the intellect must be capable of the same as the sense-faculty, and furthermore, if we have admitted that intuitive cognition of the senses can exist without the presence and existence of an object, then, it follows that the intellect can also suffer under erroneous intuitive cognitions just as the senses do. But to admit that the intellect can have such illusions, means that the intellect can be deceived. And the accuser concludes that a cognition which puts the intellect in error must be excluded.⁸⁶

It is to be noted, that the charge of scepticism is not directed against the theory of intuitive cognition as such, but that it aims mainly at the possibility of intellectual cognition. For this reason, we can hardly expect from Aureoli an *ex professo* refutation of it. He counters the charge, therefore, in a manner which looks more like a retreat than a real answer. He simply states that *normally* (*ex ordine naturali*) intuitive cognition is impressed upon the intellect by the object, and that if it lasts, it is conserved in the intellect by the object, just as the light of the sun is impressed upon the eye by the sun and conserved there by the sun. Since in ordinary life the cognition is dependent on the object and its activity, the intellect will not be lead into error by intuitive cognition.⁸⁷

It appears to us that this explanation is, at least, the admission

36. "Praeterea, illa notitia non est competens intellectui, quae semper ipsum poneret in errorem; sed intuitiva notitia intellectum poneret in errorem; constat enim, quod omnis notitia potest conservari diu in intellectu, cum sit immaterialis et incorruptibilis; quamdiu ergo intuitiva notitia erit in intellectu, tamdiu ludificabitur et decipietur, nisi res in veritate sit praesens; hoc autem intellectus deprehendere non potest: ergo per huiusmodi notitiam decipietur. Non est ergo in intellectu ponenda." p. 28aF.

37. "Secundum quoque non obviat, quoniam notitia intuitiva, quantum est ex ordine naturali, in intellectu imprimitur ab obiecto et ab eodem conservatur, sicut lumen a sole: et idcirco non facit intellectum errare, quia obiecto absente statim desinit esse . . ." p. 28bF s.

of the possibility of an intellective intuitive cognition of a non-existent in the supernatural order. A more explicit evidence, however, is found in his answer to another objection. This time the opponent turns his attention to the intuitive cognition in God which is admitted by Aureoli. God knows future facts by intuitive cognition. If Aureoli's theory is correct, then at this very moment God is deceived, since He has intuitive cognition of future facts, that means, of facts which do not yet exist. But God sees them as presentially existing and hence God does not judge that they will presentially exist.³⁸

Aureoli answers this objection in a manner which is reminiscent of Ockham's similar theory, at least to a certain extent. He maintains that intuitive cognition in God is a presential apparition of the thing which is of the future. In other words, the thing that at this moment appears to God, does not appear to God as present and existing at this moment, but as present for that moment when it will actually exist. For, it is intuitively known as a future thing. As such, viz., as appearing as a future thing, it appears in its actual state and does not, therefore, lead the intellect into error.³⁹

From all this it seems to be safe to state that Aureoli admitted intellective intuitive cognition of objects which are not present and not existing. The epistemological problem arising from this, is not further investigated by Aureoli.

38. "Et confirmatur: Quia secundum ista (*ed. istos*) hodie Deus decipitur habens intuitivam notitiam de futuris; secundum illam nempe notitiam (non) iudicat res fore praesentialiter existentes, quod falsum est." We have added a "non" which is neither in the edition nor in the manuscript, in order to make the objection understandable. We believe that the objection is made on the basis of a certain theory of intuitive cognition in God which is rejected by Aureoli. Cfr. Lib. I, d. 38, art. 2; p. 880 a, and his answer on p. 881bF.

39. "Illud autem quod inducitur pro confirmatione etiam non procedit; nam intuitiva in Deo est praesentialis apparitio pro illo nunc, in quo erit res quae futura est, non pro aliis nunc, et idcirco est vera." p. 29aA.

IV. AUREOLI AND OCKHAM

Our exposition of the theory of intuitive cognition in the doctrine of Aureoli shows that it is in many respects similar to the theory developed by Ockham. We have no intention, at the present, of studying *ex professo* the relationship between Ockham and Aureoli. That will be done in a later study which will reveal important differences in the two doctrines in regard to the validity of our sense knowledge. For Ockham knew the teachings of Aureoli, though he tells us that this knowledge of the Doctor Fancundus is very limited.⁴⁰ For the present, and only by way of conclusion, we shall make a more summary comparison between the doctrine of these two great critics of Scotus.

Aureoli and Ockham are in agreement on many points in regard to the intuitive cognition.

Both maintain that intuitive and abstractive cognition can be of exactly the same object.

Both maintain that these two types of cognition are found in sense and intellective cognition.

Both maintain that sensitive and intellective intuitive cognition of the same material object are possible.

Both maintain that intuitive cognition can be of an object which is not present or not existing.

Both explain this possibility by having recourse to the substituting power of the omnipotence of God who can either produce or conserve an intuitive cognition of an object which is not present or not existing.

Both conclude that it is not the object or any qualification of the object which distinguishes intuitive cognition from abstractive cognition, but the mode of cognition.

However, there is a striking difference in the treatment of our problem, or rather in the approach to it, which, in consequence, causes differences in their doctrine.

40. Cfr. *Ordinatio d. 27, q. 3, H.*

The approach of Aureoli is rather from a psychological point of view. The problem of truth and certitude seems to be relegated to a secondary place or almost neglected. The Doctor Facundus is interested in the psychological fact of intuitive and abstractive cognition and in an analysis of their psychic being. His characterization and description of intuitive and abstractive cognition is a masterpiece of psychological observation.

Ockham, on the other hand, is not so much interested in the psychological fact and its analysis as in the epistemological problem. The question foremost in his mind is this: Since we have evident judgments about contingent facts in regard to their existence, presence, and inherence in a subject, and since, because of the very contingency of such facts, no mediate evident proof is possible, how then do we obtain this evidence of their existence, presence, and inherence? His answer is, that it can be explained only through intuitive cognition of the fact itself. Therefore, the fact of certitude and evidence infers the necessity of intuitive cognition. Curiously enough, though this proof smacks of rationalism and may appear as an epistemological *a priori*, nevertheless, Ockham, in the footsteps of Scotus, also invokes experience and introspection to prove the actual existence of an intuitive cognition on both the sensitive and the intellectual level. In this, he is different from Aureoli. For, Aureoli, as we have seen, does not believe that we can ascertain the actuality of intellectual intuitive cognition by immediate experience.

Aureoli certainly admits illusions and erroneous judgments based on sensitive intuitive cognition. Ockham has never admitted false judgments which are based on intuitive cognition.

Aureoli admits that intuitive sensitive cognition is possible under natural conditions, that is, without the interference of God. Ockham, however, has never admitted such an intuitive cognition which is an illusion.

If Aureoli admitted erroneous judgments based on intuitive intellectual cognition—of this, however, we are not sure—, then there would be a further difference between his theory and that of Ockham; for Ockham has never admitted an erroneous evident judgment based on any intuitive cognition.

In brief, Ockham's theory is developed more logically and systematically, Aureoli's theory, however, more psychologically and factually. It appears to us that Ockham's theory is a conscious or subconscious attempt to curb the danger of subjectivism inherent in Aureoli's theory. Whether his own solution is satisfactory, however, is another question. We personally believe that no human cognition is infallible. We have certitude and evidence, but infallibility is to be left to God and to whom He deigns to grant it.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M.

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*



AUREOLI—APPENDIX

1

COMMENTARIUS IN 1^m SENTENTIARUM, PROLOGI Q. 1.

MS. Vatic. Borgh. 123, fol. 4va-5rb, Redactio prima.

Opinio Scotti (*mg.*)

Praetera hic est alia opinio, quod intuitiva concernit actualitatem et existentiam rei, non tantum in ratione obiecti cogniti sed obiecti motivi; et per hoc solvuntur rationes factae contra opinionem praecedentem.

Contra Opinionem Scotti (*mg.*)

Sed contra hanc opinionem arguo: Quia constat quod Deus de aliquibus secundum omnem opinionem habet notitiam intuitivam, quia notitia visionis, quia re posita actu non est dubium quod intuetur praesimalitatem eius; sed Deus non movetur a tali re ad illam notitiam.

Quod si dicatur quod ista essentia quae continet eminenter illas res movet et (*interl.*) hic sufficit quod obiectum moveat vel aliquod in quo continetur perfectius quam in se.

Hoc non valet: Tum quia differentia specifica non potest suppleri, sed oportet quod insit formaliter ut rationale homini.

Item: Isti dicunt quod Deus potest intuitivam notitiam creare absque obiecto praesente, quia Deus potest quodlibet absolutum facere sine respectu; res autem non potest fieri sine specifica ratione sui.

Item: Differentia specifica debet esse intrinseca et essentialis; sed motio activa est extrinseca et separabilis quia potest suppleri a Deo.

Item: Natura potest notitiam intuitivam facere sine praesentia obiecti in remotis primo in ludificationibus dormientibus et aegris. Nam Commentator De Somno et Vigilia dicit quod in talibus quando solvitur ligamentum cogitatione moventur species ab interiori ad exterius donec veniant ad sensus et tunc sunt sensus in actibus suis propter quod timentes audiunt sonos et vident apparitiones.

[Alia Opinio]

Praeterea hic est tertia opinio: quod concurrit in ratione obiecti terminantis necessario exigiti. Unde intuitiva arguit rem esse praesentem in sua existentia actuali, ita quod relatio attingentiae in ratione medii unitivi sit de ratione eius, ut intuitiva notitia non sit nisi medium unitivum potentiae cum obiecti actuali existentia.

Contra istam opinionem arguo sic (ut) contra praecedentem: quia intuitiva potest esse de re absente.

Sed ut haec propositio in contrario (?) videatur arguo contra eam primo quia impossibile est quod sit visio et nihil videatur; esset enim visio sine obiecto; sed si res non sit praesens nihil videtur. Et confirmatur quia secundum hoc Deus posset facere quod viderem praeteritum et futurum.

Item impossibile est gustare aut tangere nisi praesens, alias possem bibere vinum nullo existente vino.

Item si posset (*ms.* possem) intuitiva separari a praesentia obiecti, posset Deus creare actum beatificum sine praesentia essentiae suaee.

Sed his non obstantibus dico quod intuitiva potest separari a praesentia obiecti; experientiae enim sensibili (?) est maxime assentiendum, quia experientia facit artem et ex multis experimentis fit universale quod est principium artis et scientiae, 1° Metaphysicae et 2° Posteriorum, signum est rerum (?) sermonum convenientia cum sensibus, Commentator 3° De Anima. Sed experientia docet quod intuitiva potest separari a praesentia

objeci. Probatur primo per experientiam quam ponit (*ms.* potest!) Alhacen 1° Perspectivae capitulo quinto quod existenti in camera obstitutur (?) aspiciens caelum per aliquod foramen diu, cum post deflexerit (*ms.* defluxerit) oculum ad obscurum apparebit sibi forma lucis et foraminis; et ibidem deducit hoc idem fortiter aspiciente solem (*ms.* sol'oe) vel aliud forte visibile.

Secundo probo idem per experientiam Augustini XI° *De Trinitate* capitulo 2°; ait enim, quod cum diu solem (solutione! *ms.*) aut alia luminaria viderimus et post oculos averterimus versantur ante oculos nostros colores lucidi varie sese commutantes minus minusque fulgentes; et subdit, quod illa forma erat ante cum videremus et illa erat visio.

Item aliud experimentum ponit Philosophus 3° Metheorum de quodam habente debiles oculos quod semper idolum videbat ambulare ante ipsum ex opposito respiciente; ex hoc erat quod aer propinquus erat sibi pro speculo. Hoc idem patet per experientiam Commentatoris de Somno et Vigilia, quae adducta est contra praecedentem opinionem.

Item si intuitiva non posset esse sine praesentia objeci, tunc contradictoria simul essent vera de eodem; nam in eodem objeci relatura (!) apparet alicui de longe aspiciens prominens, alteri de prope apparet plana et aequalis. Et colores colli columbae apparent uni existenti in uno situ rubei, alteri alterius rationis et coloris in alio situ existenti, et sic de similibus. Unde sequetur quod quidquid videtur est. Ex quo principio habuit ortum opinio eorum qui negabant primum principium, patet 4° Metaphysicae.

Sed dicetur ad omnes istas experientias quod tales actus non sunt intuitions sed delusiones et falsae notitiae et iudicia erronea.

Sed ego concedo quod sunt falsae visiones et iudicia erronea et ex hoc affirmo rationes et experientias: Tum quia verum et falsum non diversificant speciem notitiae, quoniam dicunt conformitatem et difformitatem ad objecum, quae accident notitiae, immo etiam non diversificant identitatem numeralem, quia eadem aestimatio secundum Philosophum est primo vera et post falsa

nulla facta mutatione in ipsa sed in obiecto. Et confirmatur secundum Anselmum *De Veritate* (Trinitate ms.) capitulo secundo: Notitia habet duplē veritatem sicut oratio: unam quidditativam, aliam accidentalem. Prima est, quae sequitur ens in quantum ens, secunda ex conformitate ad obiectum. Ista igitur evasio confirmat propositum, quia illa non potest esse differentia specifica notitiae intuitivae verae et falsae; sed habere actualem existentiam obiecti in ratione termini est tantum pertinens ad veram intuitivam, igitur etc.

Sed dices adhuc, quod in talibus actibus obiectum non terminat notitiam sed species. Unde species ibi videtur et sentitur in ratione obiecti, quae habet esse reale in organo potentiae.

Sed contra: quia tunc visus esset potentia reflexiva.

Praeterea, quae sic videntur et iudicantur non apparent in oculo sed extra in certa distantia.

Practerea, Augustinus dicit quod illa forma erat visio.

Sed forte quod huiusmodi notitiae non sunt in sensibus exterioribus, sed in sensu communi vel imaginatione (*imagine ms.*) seu phantasia.

Sed ista responsio non est conveniens. Tum quia Augustinus, Commentator et Alhacen dicunt oppositum. Tum quia sensus interior nihil iudicat exterius sed interius abstractive. Tum quia habeo propositum quia cuiuscumque potentiae sit, hoc verum est, quod sunt notitiae, et intuitivae, in absentia obiecti.

Tunc ad rationes probantes oppositum.

Ad primam dico, quod aliquid videtur, quia praesimalitas rei. Et cum dicis: illa non est, concedo. Et ideo visio est falsa. Et cum dicis: Erit notitia sine obiecto. Dico, quod obiecti praesentia quaedam est in esse reali, quaedam in esse cognito et apparenti. Ista secunda requiritur, sed prima non requiritur, nisi ad veram visionem.

Ad illud de gustu dico per idem.

Ad illud de actu beatifico dico quod visio beatifica non potest

esse falsa, quia sic non esset summum bonum intellectus, immo summum malum, quia falsum est malum intellectus, 6° Ethicorum. Et ratio, quare talis visio non potest esse falsa est ex conditione talis obiecti, quod adest omni rei. Et ideo omnis notitia iudicans ipsum in esse realis et actualis praesentiae est vera. Et sicut notitia de rebus immobilibus semper est vera, ex 9° Metaphysicae, de rebus autem mobilibus, quandoque est falsa, sic notitia intuitiva de Deo semper est vera, de omni autem alio obiecto quandoque est falsa.

Quid igitur dicendum de isto articulo? Dico quod istae duae notitiae, intuitiva et abstractiva, non differunt ex parte obiecti, sed ex parte modi cognoscendi, ita quod cum dicitur quod intuitiva est obiecti existentis et praesentis, hoc non debet intelligi obiective sed modaliter tamquam conditio se (*interl.*) tenens ex parte notitiae. Est enim talis notitia praesimalis, actuativa et exhibitiva praesentiae, non obiective sed modaliter.

Et sunt hic tria notanda: Primo quia aliud est aliiquid se tenere ex parte obiecti, aliud ex parte modi cognoscendi. Per perspectivus enim dicit, quod omne quod videt est rectum, unde et quae sunt ante et quae post et quae a latere per speculum et quae videt per radium fractum omnia videt recte et tamen aliqua (*alia ms.*) non sunt situata recte.

Secundum, quod intuitiva et abstractiva non differunt ex parte obiecti sed ex parte modi. Nomina autem ista translata sunt a sensibus quia intuitiva dicitur a sensibus exterioribus, abstractiva ab interioribus, et tamen istae potentiae non differunt ex parte obiecti, quia quidquid video, possum imaginari.

Tertio quidem differunt ex parte modi, quia notitia abstractiva etsi sit praesimalis et actualis existentiae rei, non est tamen notitia praesimalis, sed requirit absentiam rei nec est actuativa nec exhibitiva existentiae praesentis, sicut patet de astrologo qui in camera dicit eclipsim praesentem non tamen cognoscit ut praesentem et praesimaliter. Intuitiva non est praesimalis et absens quia exhibet res praesimaliter in esse cognito, dato quod sit falsum, ut patet in experientiis suprapositis.

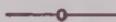
Dico igitur definiendo notitiam intuitivam per differentiam

specificam: ipsa est praesentialis actuativa et praesentiae exhibitiva, sive res sit praesens sive non. Abstractiva vero est notitia tendens absenter in rem quantumcumque praesentem nec exhibitiva talis existentiae vel praesentiae rei.

Ex quo patet quod intuitiva est clarior, perfectior et evidentior de praesentia rei quam abstractiva, licet per demonstrationes habita, quoniam abstractiva est rei absentis ut dictum est, sed intuitiva est de re praesenti praesentialiter, immo de absenti praesentialiter.

Et si dicatur, quod talis modus notitiae non est in intellectu, quoniam abstrahit a praesentia, et quia iste modus praesentialis videtur materialis. Dico quod immo. Et patet in beatis, quoniam videbimus eum facie ad faciem; nec debet iste modus, cum sit perfectior et clarior, negari potentiae intellectivae, et qui etiam conveniat sensui.

Notandum autem quod magis proprie diceretur notitia intellectiva duplex: una intuitiva, alia imaginaria vel quasi imaginaria, quasi(?) abstractiva. Tum quia haec transferuntur a visione et imaginatione sensitiva. Tum quia abstractio pertinet ad notitiam universalium quae fit per abstractionem. Tum quia Philosophus et Commentator utuntur hoc vocabulo imaginari per intellectum, non autem isto vocabulo.



THE ABSOLUTE PRIMACY OF CHRIST AND MARY ACCORDING TO POPE PIUS XII

IN 1939, *Discorsi e Panegirici* of Eugenio Cardinale Pacelli, Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità, were published.

This 860 page volume of discourses and panegyrics by Cardinal Pacelli, the present Holy Father, contains a discourse preached in the church of San Luigi dei Francesi of Rome on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the Association of Our Lady of a Happy Death.¹ This sermon was first printed in *La Croix* of Paris. On December 8, 1937, it appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano*, which introduced it with these words: "Since insistent requests have come from various parties from within and without Italy, we, too, are printing this discourse to satisfy that desire. It can serve to instruct and edify many." In the sermon, there are some beautiful paragraphs on the Absolute Primacy of Christ and Mary.

The first thought that comes to us on the topic of Mary, Saint of Saints, is this: Eternally, before every other creature, God had her in mind; He loved her; He chose her in order to enrich her with His gifts as much as a creature can be. This is the mind of the Church when she applies to Mary, with all the reserve that Faith commands, what the Author of Proverbs has said of the Son of God: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before he made anything from the beginning. I was set up from eternity, and of old before the earth was made. The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived: neither had the fountains of waters as yet sprung out. The mountains with their huge bulk had not as yet been established: before the hills I was brought forth." (Prov. 8, 22-25).

Wishing to create the world, at the beginning of time, in

1. *Discorsi e Panegirici* (Milano: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1939), pp. 633-634. My attention was called to this sermon by an article on the subject in *Studi Francescani*, XII (1940) 3-6, by Fr. J. Bonnefoy, O.F.M. All italics in the present article are mine.

order to diffuse His love and to bring it about that there would exist other beings besides Himself who would be happy, God, before all things (if one may speak thus, according to our manner of seeing and acting successively), God before all things cast His eyes upon Him who was to be their Head and King. He decreed that, to redeem the human race from the servitude of sin, the Word, born of the Father, consubstantial with the Father, should become incarnate and live among us. Here is the Masterpiece of God, the most excellent of His works. Regardless of what the date and the circumstances of His manifestation in time would be, it is certainly that which He willed before all other things, and in view of which He made all other things. (Col. 1, 15-17).

However, since He wished that this unique object of His good pleasure be born of a woman, He cast upon you, O Mary, a glance most sweet, and predestined you to be His Mother. Eternally, the material world appeared to Him as the palace of Christ, our Head; the angels and men as His servants; Christ Himself as the Son and the royal prince; and you, O Virgin, as the most worthy Mother of His Son, the Mother of God: *Sancta Maria, Mater Dei.*

Thus, my brethren, Christ and His Mother are indissolubly united in their entire history and even in their predestination. God never thought of, or willed, the one without the other. Both are the fruit of the same design.

These words are clearly an expression of the Franciscan doctrine, in direct opposition to the Thomistic view of the primacy of Christ and the purposes of the Incarnation. It is true the eminent Cardinal said that God decreed the Incarnation of the Word for the redemption of the human race; but, since the Incarnation was willed prior to all things, it was evidently willed prior to the foreseeing of the sin of Adam. If the Incarnate Word were willed for all other things, in other words, as their final cause, then He was willed prior to all other things, as the first in creation, as the renowned Prelate explicitly stated.

There are many opponents of the Franciscan doctrine who consider it impractical speculation. The Pope did not think so. He ended the first part of his sermon with a transition to the section quoted, saying, "It is, therefore, to arouse that con-

fidence [in Mary] that there remains for me, my brethren, to speak to you about the rôle of Mary, Mother of God, *in the course of the designs of Providence.*" So, the excellence of Mary, inasmuch as she was predestined, together with Christ, absolutely and first, has the very practical value of increasing our confidence in her, our Mother.

Now, even though this sermon was not preached by Pius XII as Pope, nevertheless, it is a precious document for all lovers of Christ's and Mary's Absolute Primacy. It was preached by the Papal Secretary in the capital of the Catholic World, and by one who later ascended the throne of Peter, who, as Pope, allows the printing and dissemination of this sermon.

In an encyclical letter on the Mystical Body of Christ, one might await some statements about the ultimate purpose of the Head of that Body, Who holds in it the place of supreme honor. Indeed, in the Encyclical on the Mystical Body, the same Pius XII speaks of the reasons for the Incarnation of the Word of God. Naturally, the redemption of man from sin after Adam's fall, figures as a prominent motive.² However, let it be noted that this is not set down as the primary or exclusive motive of the Incarnation. In fact, there are a few passages, which, though not so explicit as those in the sermon quoted above, remind one very forcefully of the doctrine in this sermon.

The Pope stresses the excellence of the Incarnation in itself. He rejects the error that Christ is to be considered in the liturgy as a mere Mediator; He is also to be adored and prayed to.³ He is the most loved of all God's creations, "the object of God's love beyond all men, all angels, and all creation."⁴ The entire Mystical Body exists ultimately for the glory of Christ; this is also Paul's doctrine.

As the Son of the Eternal Father came down from Heaven for the salvation of all of us, He, likewise, established the Body of the Church, and enriched it with the divine Spirit to as-

2. Edition of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, p. 10 and 29.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

sure immortal souls attaining their happiness, according to the words of the Apostle: "all things are yours; but you are Christ's; and Christ is God's." (I Cor. 3, 23). The Church exists both for the good of the faithful, and to give glory to God and Jesus Christ whom He sent.⁵

The purpose of the union of Christ and Christians in the Mystical Body is the sanctification of the members, and the glory of God and of Christ. "Now the end in question is supremely exalted: the continuous sanctifying of the members of the Body for the glory of God and of the Lamb, that was slain." (Apoc. 5, 12-13).⁶ The intention of divinely adopting men seems to be prior to the intention of renewing that image of divine sonship: "The reason why the only-begotten Son of the Eternal Father wished to be a Son of Man, was that we might be made conformed to the image of the Son of God (Rom. 8, 29), and be renewed according to the image of Him who created us." (Col. 3, 10).⁷ Finally, "now the only-begotten Son of God embraced us in His infinite knowledge and undying love even before the world began. To give visible, and exquisitely beautiful expression to this love, He took unto Himself in hypostatic union our nature: whence—as Maximus of Turin with a certain unaffected simplicity remarks—'in Christ our own flesh loves us'."⁸

It is evident that these statements of the Encyclical are entirely favorable to the Franciscan doctrine that Christ exists primarily for His own glory, that all creatures were created for His glory, and that He was willed eternally, before all creatures, and, consequently, before the sin of Adam was foreseen. We think the sermon of the Pope which speaks explicitly of these matters can be used as a commentary for the fuller and deeper meaning of the words in the Encyclical.

DOMINIC J. UNGER, O.F.M. Cap.

*Capuchin College.
Washington, D. C.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

MISCELLANEA

FRANCISCAN TERTIARIES ESTABLISHED THE FIRST PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

LIBRARIES, or collections of books made accessible to the reading public, antedate Christianity. Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome had established public libraries, most of them attached to temples, in various cities of antiquity. In the fourth century, there are said to have been twenty-eight public libraries in the city of Rome; meanwhile, the institution of public libraries at various churches became part of the ecclesiastical organization. In the third and fourth centuries, we find libraries at Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Edessa, Cirta, and Hippo in North Africa. These ecclesiastical libraries were established at public places, i. e., in churches, where the books were housed in a room connected with the sacred edifice. Many of the old basilicas had the apse subdivided into three smaller half-circles, one of which contained the library.

In the succeeding Middle Ages, learning and literature began to be concentrated in the monasteries, and the collections of books were treasured foremost in monasteries. This movement led to restrictions in regard to the use of books kept in those monastic libraries. The enclosure barred men from access to the libraries of the nuns, and women from access to the libraries of the monks. The cathedrals vied with the monasteries in the accumulation of books, yet access to the books was equally difficult. Prior to the thirteenth century, those collections were small, and the books were kept in cupboards, chests, or recesses in walls, jealously guarded like the other treasures. Access to the rooms might have been free, but not access to the books.

In a certain sense, the collections of books housed in the

monasteries and cathedrals may be called "the Public Libraries of the Middle Ages." They were destined for the use of the residents of the institution, but private use did not give the right of private possession. Furthermore, not everyone could handle the books as he wished, and curses were heaped upon anyone who dared appropriate a book. At a very early date, the monasteries began to loan books to persons in general on adequate security, and the book-preserving and book-producing monastic communities even developed an inter-library loan system between different countries. Houses which lent liberally, in the course of time, relaxed the strict discipline of close supervision to admit strangers to their library-rooms on certain days.

Yet, the idea of a library free and open to all comers irrespective of sex and state of life was first realized by the Tertiary, St. Louis, King of France. In 1239, the Emperor Baldwin II of Roumania donated a large number of very precious relics to St. Louis. To house those treasures reverently, the saintly King built the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which was to receive the distinction of housing the First Public Library established in Christian Europe. When St. Louis stayed in Palestine (1250-1254), he was told how a Muslim Sultan was collecting some books, and had others copied at his own expense; thus, he placed in his library all kinds of books which could be of use to students. This sultan, moreover, would loan his books without the least difficulty to all those who had need of them. The saint became so enthusiastic about this arrangement that he resolved to introduce it into France, as soon as he returned. No sooner had St. Louis returned to France than he began to carry out his project with the greatest zeal. He hired copyists to transcribe all the books of the Bible which he could find in the abbeys; likewise, he had the works of the Fathers of the Church, St. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, and many other ecclesiastical writers transcribed. Convinced that it would be more useful to produce new books and multiply the number of copies, he refused to buy any manuscripts made by others. All these new books were placed in the Sainte-Chapelle, in a room adjoining the one in which the sacred relics were treasured.

When St. Louis had transferred his new books to this hallowed resting place, he allowed everyone to come and study there at his pleasure. The king himself went there during his leisure hours, and even acted as a thoughtful librarian, assisting the students in their studies by discussing certain difficult passages with them. Moreover, St. Louis would also keep books in his rooms, and either he read the Holy Scriptures or other holy books, or he had them read to him at dinner and in the evening before retiring.

St. Louis did not think it proper to leave his public library to his son; he thought that the books collected by him would be of more use in religious houses than in the Sainte-Chapelle. Perhaps, he realized that the time for free public libraries had not yet come considering the absence of a reading public among the laity. The clergy was served by various monastic cathedral and collegiate libraries, and the few noble men and ladies had ample means to provide the books they would like to have and use.

Accordingly, he ordered the executors of his Last Will and Testament to divide the books among the Dominicans and Franciscans of Paris, the Benedictines of Royaumont, and the Dominicans of Compiègne. The liturgical books were to remain in the Chapel for further use, but all the other books were to be distributed in equal parts not counting the books which the Dominicans of Compiègne had already received. One of these books, once placed in the public library at the Sainte-Chapelle and incorporated into the library of the Friars Minor in 1270, as a bequest of St. Louis, is now treasured in the National Library at Paris, and is marked No. 1474 of the Fonds de la Sorbonne. It is a miscellaneous work containing several theological treatises. The remainder of the books bequeathed by St. Louis to the Friars Minor at Paris were destroyed in the conflagration of November 15, 1580.¹

About a century later, another Tertiary of St. Francis estab-

1. Franklin, Alfred Louis August. *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, vol. I, Paris, 1867, pp. 213-218; Delisle, Leopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 6-10.

lished the second public library in Catholic Europe. Francesco Petrarca, the Father of the Renaissance, had been a passionate collector of books, and an advocate of preserving old manuscripts. In 1362, he willed his collection of books to the Church of St. Mark in Venice with the condition that they were to be made available to the general public. In 1374, this Last Will and Testament was executed when, after the death of the poet, his books were transferred to the Church of St. Mark. Again, the world was not yet prepared for such a liberal offer. Petrarca's books at St. Mark were not appreciated even after a movement begun by Petrarca had led to the establishment of other public libraries. It was only in 1500 that the public library of Petrarca was first appreciated, after seventeen manuscripts of this collection were acquired for the Royal Library of Paris. In Petrarca's public library, Franciscan works were first made accessible to the general public. Among the books bequeathed by Petrarca to St. Mark's of Venice was a copy of St. Bonaventure's *Commentary on the First Book of Sentences*. It is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, copies preserved of this work, and was transcribed during the lifetime of the saint. During the period of neglect of Petrarca's public library, this *Codex* came into the possession of private people, and, as late as the year 1830, it landed in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, having been bequeathed to that institution by Bernardini Ferrari. The famous *Codex Cumanicus* is another Franciscan work which once belonged to Petrarca's library, and was given to St. Mark's in 1374. This book attests Petrarca's interest in the Franciscan missions and in linguistics.²

It was only in 1437 that the literary world was prepared to appreciate the boon of free public libraries. In that year, Niccolo Niccoli bequeathed his collection of manuscripts to the city of Florence for public use. This was the first public library of Christian Europe which proved a success, and gave impetus to

2. Putnam, George Haven. *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, vol. I, New York, 1896, pp. 162 sq.; S. Bonaventurae *Opera omnia*, vol. I, Quaracchi, 1882, p. LXXVII, no. 14; *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, vol. VII, 1914, p. 139; *Zentral-Blatt fuer Bibliothekswesen*, vol. XV, Leipsic, 1898, p. 335.

the movement to establish public libraries all over Christian Europe. Thus, the Tertiaries of St. Francis were the pioneers of the modern public library movement.

A POLYGLOT FRANCISCAN LIBRARIAN

The Franciscan Friar, Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, had a most checkered career prior to his appointment as the librarian of one of the foremost libraries of the world: He was a much-traveled missionary, and a great linguist. Friar Dominicus Germanus of Silesia was born about the year 1600 in the parish of Schurgast, Diocese of Breslau, and in the Province of Silesia. He entered the Franciscan Order in the Bohemian Province of the Reformed Observants. About the year 1630, he was sent into the missions of Asia (Near-East), and returned in 1636 to teach Oriental languages in the celebrated Mission-College of St. Peter in Montoro, Rome. In 1647, he was appointed Prefect of the Missions in the Tatary, and, as such, traveled in the Near and Far East, preaching the Gospel to the Armenians, Persians, Tatars, Chinese, Japanese, and some other Oriental nations. He possessed a marvelous talent for learning to speak languages, perfectly mastering German, Italian, Latin, Spanish, French, and Greek. Later, in the missions, he learned to speak Tatar, Armenian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Persian, besides some other foreign languages. He is said to have preached in these languages, and made converts. As the result of linguistic acquisitions, he was employed by the Popes and Kings in their diplomatic services. In 1650, the Spanish King appointed him the librarian of the library of the Royal Palace and Monastery Escorial, twenty-five miles north of Madrid. This library was famous for its collection of Latin, Greek, and Arabic works. Furthermore, it was notable as having been the first library fitted (by the architect) from the beginning of the building, with the so-called wall-system, i. e., setting the bookshelves against the wall. Friar Dominicus filled

the post as Royal librarian at the Escorial for twenty years. He died there in 1670, and was buried there in the vault of the royal family. Friar Dominicus is, evidently, the greatest polyglot of the Franciscan Order. The mastery of so many languages is attributable to a natural talent for languages and not to the supernatural charisma of the gift of tongues.¹ The few linguistic works which Friar Dominicus published during his lifetime prevented a complete oblivion of his merits. At Rome were printed his Dictionary of Vulgar Arabic and Italian (1636), Antitheses Fidei (1638), Arabic grammar in Latin and Italian (1639), and part of a translation of the Koran at Paris in 1683 by Marcel Devic. In manuscripts are preserved, in the library of Escorial, a grammar of the Turkish language with an Italian translation, a Turkish-Italian vocabulary, an Italian-Turkish-Arabic vocabulary, an Italian-Armenian-Persian vocabulary, a grammar of Arabic-Persian-Turkish, a textbook of logics in Arabic and Latin, a short Turkish grammar, and at least seven apologetical works against Mohammedanism. The last, a refutation of the Koran in Arabic and Latin, was finished on the vigil of the feast of St. Mathias (February 23), 1669. This work was written at the request of King Philip IV of Spain. (Lorenzo Perez, O.F.M. in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* X, 1917, pp. 253-255, *Collectanea Franciscana* III, 1933, p. 466).

JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M. Cap.

St. Augustine's Monastery,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1. Goerres, Jos., *Christliche Mystik*, II, Regensburg, 1837, page 192.

BOOK REVIEWS

One With Jesus. By Paul De Jaegher, S.J. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1946. Pp. 63. 75c.

The Newman Bookshop has undertaken an excellent work in the reprinting of the old classics of the spiritual life. We cannot call Fr. Jaegher's *One With Jesus* an old classic but we can certainly call it a classic. Newman Bookshop is, therefore, to be congratulated on its discernment in electing to make a new edition of this little book.

One With Jesus is a book noteworthy on two scores.

First of all, it is one of the early popular specific attempts to bring the dogma of the Mystical Body down to a devotional level. The dogmas of the Faith will have personal significance to the individual only when the individual will have assimilated them into his personal devotion. One of the dogmas that had long been out of the reach of the non-professional theologian is that of the Mystical Body. Fr. Jaegher, therefore, did a great service in rendering this Dogma into a deeply personal language and in pointing out the personal consequences that will flow from a life of identification with Christ.

Secondly, it is noteworthy in that it is directed to a limited number of readers. This book presumes that its readers will have attained a certain degree of intimacy with God. It will be most profitably read by those who have received the graces of mystic prayer, as Fr. Jaegher himself suggests in his preface. However, they will also read it with profit who have attained the unitive way or are far advanced in the illuminative way, if we may speak a little technically.

We have, therefore, a type of devotional book that is unusual in modern times. It is a book written for those who are advanced in the spiritual life. Most modern spiritual books are written for the beginners in the spiritual life. It is obviously true that advanced souls may also draw profit from these books, but they will not find in them the food that is most perfectly suited to their state. This book, on the other hand, is written with the specific purpose of providing the right sort of spiritual nourishment for them. Fr. Jaegher, therefore, does a work of real charity.

in providing for these souls who are often left to fend for themselves at least some morsel of spiritual nourishment.

One little word of inquiry—let us not say of criticism—would not be out of place. Would it not have been preferable on Fr. Jaegher's part to have omitted the reference to passive and mystic prayer in his introduction and in the second last chapter? Such references may be helpful to a spiritual director but they are rarely necessary and sometimes harmful to the simple soul who is living the life that he describes in his excellent little book.

ROBERT PRENTICE, O.F.M

*Franciscan Institute,
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.*

St. Augustine: The Lord's Sermon on the Mount. Translated by the Very Reverend John J. Jepson, S.S., Ph.D. With an introduction and notes by the Editors. Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1948. Pp. 227. \$2.75.

The series of ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS, the works of the Fathers in translation, edited by Dr. J. Quasten and Dr. J. C. Plumpe, has been enriched by another fine volume both in format and content. In his opening paragraph to this work St. Augustine remarks that "(the reader) will find in it (the Sermon on the Mount), as measured by the highest norms of morality, the perfect pattern of the Christian life" (p. 11). St. Augustine himself had experienced that, as Dr. Quasten notes in his introduction, "He who had investigated all philosophical systems of his times in search of truth, found here a complete rule of life, the best philosophy of life" (p. 3). That is the Sermon of the Mount. St. Augustine by his simple commentary has helped many people to love and to live according to this treasure of divine wisdom.

Simple though it is in style, this explanation of the Lord's sermon is penetrating in its study of the Lord's moral and spiritual theology. And since the Sermon contains the Our Father, St. Augustine's commentary on that part is a "condensed theology of prayer," as Dr. Quasten rightly calls it (p. 9).

The plan of the book is simple, too. Book one comments on chapter five of Matthew, and Book two on chapters six and seven. The style, besides being simple, is also informal. The Doctor of Hippo shows himself quite capable of coming down

to the level of the man in the street and talking to him in simple concrete language.

In the notes Dr. Plumpe throws clearer light on the text and calls attention in several places to the fact that Augustine changed his interpretation of passages in his *Retractationes*. The literature on the various problems is always up to date.

Last but not least, the translation is well done, smooth and clear. So may the translator's labor be repaid by the fact that many, even outside Catholic circles, will read the work and find within its pages the principles that can solve all personal, national, and international ills.

DOMINIC J. UNGER, O.F.M. Cap.

Capuchin College,
Washington, D. C.

A Song of Bedlam Inn. By Sister M. Madeleva. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1946. Pp. 11. 50c.

Few, if any, poets in America today can surpass Sister Madeleva's lyrical excellence. She has a simplicity of theme, and a simplicity of presentation which exert a rare charm. More than one person has called her the greatest woman in contemporary American poetry, and this statement is by no means pure hyperbole.

In her latest book, she has published ten poems. One or two of these easily rank with her best. The poem which gives the book its title is exceptionally fine, as is also the quatrain entitled, *Lady Day Recital*:

*They are a vase, these my two hands,
Delicate, deft and strong.
Lady, I bring them to you, blossom-filled
With flowers of song.*

Her poems, like her hands, are "delicate, deft and strong", yet they are surrounded by a guilelessness that could come only from a guileless soul.

BEDE A. DAUPHINEE, O.F.M.

Siena College,
Loudonville, N. Y.

1. *This Tremendous Lover.* By M. Eugene Boylan, O.Cist. R. Westminster: The Newman Bookshop, 1947. Pp. xviii + 345. \$3.00.
2. *Common Mystic Prayer.* By Gabriel Diefenbach, O.F.M. Cap. Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1947. Pp. viii + 128. \$1.50.
3. *The School of the Cross.* By Rev. John A. Kane. New York: Declan X. McMullen Co., 1948. Pp. 144. \$2.00.

1. With the thought that the crying need today is for holiness among the laity, Dom Boylan essays to bring the spiritual life within the reach of the ordinary layman, and in particular to those in the marriage state. Every baptized person, every member of the Mystical Body, is called to perfection, "for all men of every condition, in whatever honorable walk of life they may be, can and ought to imitate that most perfect example of holiness placed before men by God, Christ Our Lord, and by God's grace arrive at the summit of perfection" (Pius XI).

Laymen must be made to realize that holiness is something that affects every moment of life and is rooted in the very depths of one's being. To that end the author devotes his attention to many aspects of the spiritual life that touch on the life of the laity, subjects that are not usually dealt with in manuals of spirituality: the layman and prayer, spiritual reading, family life and friendships, a rather extraordinary chapter on holiness in and through marriage. Throughout, he is most helpful, above all, prudent in his suggestions and directives.

It is a bit extreme, however, to characterize this work as the modern counterpart of the "Introduction to a Devout Life," as did one Irish reviewer. Parts of the work are not easy reading, especially the chapters on the Mystical Body; the average layman, without the aid of a competent guide or director, will find the exposition too profound. On the other hand, Religious can certainly draw much profit from many chapters of the book.

2. This book, as Fr. Gabriel remarks in his opening chapter, is intended as a simple statement of the beginnings of mystic prayer. Common mystic prayer, accessible to all of good will, is the first step in contemplation. It is not vocal prayer, nor meditation, wherein thinking and feeling constitute the main activity, but the prayer that follows immediately upon meditation; a heart-to-heart communing between the soul and its Spouse in prayer of a purely spiritual nature, made up of a simple view of the understanding and a simple movement of the will.

Slight though this volume may be, it is a thorough and exceptionally clear discussion of this type of prayer, the signs whereby it may be known, the difficulties the soul will undergo as it first experiences such a stage in its spiritual development, the virtues that must accompany it and the results it will produce in practice. No one who reads the book can well escape either the simple charm of the author's style or a desire to attain the perfection of prayer-life he so ably describes. Whether or not the reader will actually arrive at common mystic prayer, he will be immeasurably helped by the chapters on the spirit of prayer and devotion, the common-sense views of the author on the difference between mysticism in the correct sense and so-called mystical phenomena, and the plea for a deeper prayer—a life on the part of Religious. It becomes almost a "must" for spiritual reading!

Throughout, the author follows Saint John of the Cross, whose "system" he clearly explains in the final chapter. A like treatise, based on Franciscan sources, would no doubt not be out of place in our spiritual bookshelf.

3. The title of Father Kane's most recent work gives an indication to his approach to the Sacred Passion. The merit of the book lies in the new way in which age-old truths are expressed and the lessons of the Cross brought home to modern man. The Christian alone, taught in the School of the Cross, has a complete philosophy of life: in the cross is salvation, life, freedom, joy of spirit. The book is a selection of the Spiritual Book Associates.

IGNATIUS BRADY, O.F.M.

Duns Scotus College,
Detroit, Michigan.

Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando. By Rt.
Rev. Hubert Jedin. Translated by F. C. Eckhoff. St. Louis,
Mo.: B. Herder Co., 1947. Pp. viii-720. \$7.50.

Monsignor Jedin needs no introduction to Catholic theologians; he is well known in theological circles for his scholarly and critical works and articles in the field of sacred sciences. The present volume under review is no exception. With consummate skill and orderly fashion the author presents in thirty-eight chapters the entire life-span of Jerome Seripando, the celebrated Catholic reformer of the XVI century, General of the Augustinian Order, Archbishop of

Salerno, and Cardinal Legate *a latere* at the Council of Trent. Based almost exclusively on original and reliable sources, this volume has all the characteristics of an authoritative work.

In the introductory chapter Msgr. Jedin traces the lineage, the social and political milieu, and the formative years of Seripando. He then presents his intellectual and spiritual groundwork: the theological formation, dependence, development, sources and influence. This is of primary importance, for it sheds considerable light on Seripando's attempts at Catholic reform and on his theological views for which he fought a losing battle at the Council of Trent.

The critical account of Seripando's personal views on original sin, justification, grace and Tradition, and their influence on the formulation of doctrinal chapters and canons in the Council, embraces some of the best chapters of the book. Seripando's name will ever remain linked with his theory of twofold justification—a theory that is as original as it is dangerous. His whole teaching on original sin and justification is based on his concept of concupiscence (p. 315). In the main, Seripando's views on these fundamental points of dogma reflected Luther's own ideas. As a result, they were summarily rejected, and Seripando's orthodoxy came under suspicion. But the result of the strenuous and hazardous, but silent, battle that Seripando, as head of the Augustinian Order, had waged at the Council was that his views furnished the occasion for re-examining the fundamental problems of catholic dogma on original sin and on the process of the justification of man with unprecedented care. In this respect the Tridentine decree on justification is closely associated with the name of Seripando, no other theologian had as much influence on its composition, positively or negatively (p. 392).

Since Seripando, either as General of the Augustinian Order or as Cardinal Legate, was actively present at the sessions of the Council of Trent from its opening to almost its very end, he was thoroughly familiar with the grave problems that faced Christendom during the critical period of the Protestant revolt, and urgently felt the need of promoting a Catholic reform and the correction of abuses. Consequently, Monsignor Jedin's presentation of Seripando's labors for a Catholic reform and of his contributions to the triumph of the Council of Trent furnishes an interesting study and a valuable contribution to ecclesiastical history.

Within the limited space of this review, we will confine ourselves to few observations. Besides certain minor inaccuracies and discrepancies (v. g., p. 575, l. 13; cf. p. 580, l. 10; p. 576, where the date March 4, 1561, instead of March 10, is set as the day on which Seripando was appointed Legate *a latere*), the chapter (36) dealing

with the Sacrifice of the Mass could stand revision in the light of recent monographs; the author himself admits (p. 654, n. 48) he was unable to have access to certain pertinent material. Furthermore, it will not escape the observant reader that the author is at times too prone to magnify the position, influence and prominence of Cardinal Seripando at the Council at the expense of the other Cardinal Legates (Ercole Gonzaga, Hosius, Simonetta). From the author's appraisal of the Cardinal Legates it would appear that Seripando was the center of the Council of Trent. Doubtless this is due to the fact that Msgr. Jedin confines himself to the account of Seripando's activities in the Council, and to the study of its proceedings as seen through Seripando's eyes. Finally, the incidental evaluation and appreciation of the labors of Cardinal Hosius at the Council is inaccurate; it is largely based on the biased work of J. Lortz, *Kardinal Stanislaus Hosius. Beiträge zur Erkenntnis der Persönlichkeit und des Werkes* (Braunsberg, 1931).

Despite these few critical remarks, the book has many excellent qualities, and well deserves a prominent place on the library's shelves. The English translation of Rev. F. C. Eckhoff has this merit that it embodies valuable references and footnotes which are often left out in similar translations.

No Catholic theologian or historian interested in the gigantic labors of the Council of Trent for the preservation of the integrity of faith and of the purity of morals, especially during the crisis of the Protestant revolt, can remain indifferent to this illuminating and highly interesting work of Msgr. Jedin.

GREGORY GRABKA, O.F.M. Conv.

*St. Hyacinth Seminary,
Granby, Mass.*

Sex Enlightenment and the Catholic. By J. Leycester King, S.J.
London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1947. Pp. 67. 6s.

Among the many books on the sex training of the young that have appeared in recent years this recent work of Fr. King deserves a top rating. However, as the author points out in the Introduction, it is not his intention to give an exhaustive treatment of the whole topic of sex-enlightenment, nor to furnish parents and teachers with an account of the actual facts which have to be communicated in the course of sex-enlightenment. His main purpose is to lay down

the general principles relative to the training of youth in matters pertaining to sex, as these principles are found in the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church, particularly in declarations of the Holy See.

The fundamental guiding principle in this matter is thus expressed by Fr. King: "In the last resort it is grace, and grace alone, which is able to hold our human complexity together in harmony and integration. . . . Now, the sex urge affects man as a whole; its dynamic is a principal component of the internal conflict which only the life of the Spirit is able to resolve. The Christian approach to sex must therefore be on a high level—the level of the man who is really *whole*, the man ennobled by his divine elevation and destiny."

Fr. King points out the inadequacy of mere physiological instruction as the constitutive element of sex training, and vigorously condemns the method of modern psychiatry which would rid the young of a sense of guilt when they have committed sex transgressions. At the same time he proves convincingly the absolute need of sex-enlightenment in modern times, and unhesitatingly asserts that the training methods of bygone generations need considerable revision if they are to equip our young folk adequately to withstand the moral dangers of the present age.

In accordance with the clear statements of papal documents, Fr. King holds that the proper persons to impart sex-enlightenment are the parents. Nevertheless, he believes that a certain measure of group instruction in schools, to children of the same sex, may sometimes be called for. "I incline to the view that in many cases *some* form of collective school instruction may be allowable, desirable and even necessary. But it seems clear to me that such collective instruction should always be preceded by private instruction of the individuals concerned, in which those topics can, if necessary, be dealt with which are unsuitable for public discussion." He then adds that such collective instruction is most effective when mingled with other subjects, such as history and religion. However, he warns against exaggerated stress of religious motives and values. "It is also important to relate the matter to common sense and to the natural rational motives for self-control, right order and proper conduct. The precepts of the supernatural order of grace are always built on a solid foundation of natural reasonableness—they lead man, not back against his own nature, but through nature, onward and far beyond. Indeed, it is an important part of sex pedagogy to show that this particular instinct is not basically different from the other urges of human nature, and that the *ordinary* rules for right conduct apply quite exactly to sex-control as well. It is all too easy for youth to

get the mistaken idea that sex is so different from everything else that the ordinary rules do not apply—they can thus become *afraid* of it in a wrong and unreasonable sense, and such irrational fear is a prolific source of quite serious trouble in later life."

Fr. King believes that the confessor is not the person to impart sex instruction, even when the parents fail in their duty. He cites the Instruction of the Holy Office, given on May 17, 1943, in support of his view.

The book contains the declarations of the Holy See relative to sex instruction, from a rescript of the Congregation of the Index, issued in 1908, up to the allocution of Pope Pius XII to Catholic mothers, delivered on October 26, 1941. It also contains the text of a joint pastoral of the English hierarchy, published in 1944, relative to sex enlightenment, and a statement approved by the bishops of Scotland.

It is to be hoped that Fr. King's book will reach many parents and educators, for it is a most practical and thoroughly Catholic treatment of a complicated problem.

VERY REV. FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.S.S.R., S.T.D.

*Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.*

The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes, 1847-1877. By Sister Mary Carol Schroeder, O.S.F. *The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History*, vol. XXXV. Washington, 1946. Pp. ix, 227.

As a focal point in the old Northwest Territory, the Diocese of Vincennes (Diocese of Indianapolis since 1898) has always been a center of historic interest to American Catholics. The purpose of the present study is to trace the progress of Catholicism in the diocese of Vincennes during the episcopacies of John Stephen Bazin (October, 1847-April, 1848) and of Maurice de St. Palais (1849-1877). This period of Vincennes' history is particularly interesting, since it is in this time that we find the development of a diocesan governmental administration, the decline of the French clergy and the rise of the German, and finally, the actual centralization of activity in Indianapolis. These developments resulted from the fact that immigration swelled the Catholic population from 40,000 for the entire state of Indiana in 1849 to 90,000 for the southern half

of the state in 1877, while parishes grew from 50 in 1849 to 140 at the close of the period. Within this time we find the concurrent growth and development of the religious orders in parochial work, in education, and in hospital and social work. In a word, the years 1849-1877 saw the sketching of the outlines of the modern diocese, which outlines served as so many points of development in the later course of organization and administration.

Sister Mary Carol has given us an excellent narrative history of this important segment of midwestern Church history. The style of presentation is pleasant and interesting, and the careful research is up to the high standard set by the previous volumes of the Catholic University Studies in American Church history.

MICHAEL B. McCLOSKEY, O.F.M.

*Siena College,
Loudonville, N. Y.*

A New Assisi: 1849-1949. By Sister Mary Eunice Hanousek, O.S.F. Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. xiv-231. \$5.00.

A New Assisi is the centennial story of the foundation, progress, and present status of the Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. "The founding of this community was occasioned," as His Excellency Most Reverend Moses E. Keley, D.D., Archbishop of Milwaukee says in the foreword: "by one of the many and diverse needs of the newly established diocese of Milwaukee. Its growth parallels that of the nascent diocese itself." However, the community soon spread far beyond the limits of the present Archdiocese of Milwaukee, and today directs schools staffed by the Sisters throughout the United States, including three orphanages, a school for the deaf, three schools for the mentally retarded, four catechetical schools, sixty-six elementary parochial schools, seven high schools, a college, and a House of Studies recently erected in Washington, D. C., for graduate students attending the Catholic University. A native novitiate and six mission schools have been established in China.

These institutions and the diversified activities connected with them portray better in figures than in words the specialties of the Sisters in their exercise of the spiritual and corporal words of mercy: first of all, the instruction and education of youth in the

United States and the foreign missions; secondly, the training and education of children who are orphans, deaf-mutes, mentally retarded, and blind; and thirdly, the care of the domestic work in the major and minor departments of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and in the residences of several bishops.

The book, thoroughly documented, is presented in four parts entitled: The Planting; the Storm; Growth; and Harvest. Divided into twenty chapters and five Appendices of documents, a valuable index completes the history.

The early foundation of the Community is intimately associated with the various charitable mission societies established in Europe, especially at Lyons, Munich, and Vienna, for the spread of the Faith in the United States. During the Lenten Season of 1848, the same year in which revolutions beset all Europe and thrones were toppling, Rev. Francis Anthony Keppeler, parish priest of the village of Ettenbeuren in Bavaria, reviewing the grave political events of his day in which he foresaw an era of sorrow and travail, exhorted his people to "go to America. Build a new and better Ettenbeuren, an Ettenbeuren of saints."

That sermon led to the formation of a group, composed of eleven married members of the Third Order of St. Francis (five men and six women), which, accompanied by Fr. Keppeler and his curate, Rev. Mathias Steiger, blessed by Bishop Peter von Richarz of Augsburg, and subsidized by King Louis I of Bavaria, sailed from Bremen on March 15, 1849, with Wisconsin, at that time the "El Dorado of German immigrants," as their goal. Shortly after their arrival, Bishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee, who himself was just returning from Europe where he had gone in search of priests and funds, welcomed the German colony of immigrants to his diocese on Pentecost Monday, May 28, 1849. This date, then, marks the formal foundation day of the sisterhood which was to develop from these early pioneers. On the advice of the Bishop, the colony settled at a Southern point on Milwaukee Bay, known by its Indian name as Nojoshing.

Eventually, the six women founders moved into the newly-erected convent; a chapel was soon added. To their deep affection, the two priests who had accompanied them to America, and who, to raise funds for the colony and the Sisters, had offered their services to the Bishop to help out in the German parishes of the diocese, soon succumbed to a violent epidemic of cholera. Father Keppeler died on September 9, 1851, and Father Steiger, on September 11, 1851. A Rule of Life was drawn up for the Sisters by

their newly appointed spiritual director, Rev. Michael Heiss, who in the designs of Divine Providence, was destined one day to succeed Bishop Henni to the See of Milwaukee. On June 16, 1853, the six Sisters took their first vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Mrs. Zabler became Mother Aemiliana, and she is looked upon as the first Superior-General of the community. Their first task was the ordinary housework in the ecclesiastical seminary of St. Francis de Soles—the Solesianum—which, although not formally established at that time, was soon to rise with the blessing of the Papal Legato, Archbishop Bedini, the encouragement of Archbishop Hughes of New York, and the indefatigable labors of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Salzman. Nevertheless, this very manual labor in so holy an occupation as the care of future priests eventually proved the undoing of the original community. Despite the few new members who had been received in the meantime, the heavy strain of manual labor gave the Sisters little time for spiritual exercises, much less time for the contemplative life for which they yearned and had envisioned. Mother Aemiliana and her first five companions withdrew, became secularized, and spent their last days in taking care of the church and home of the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Leonard Batz, who had been their spiritual director at one time.

Undisturbed and undismayed by this almost unprecedented turn of events, the eleven remaining Sisters and postulants continued their labors in the Seminary. God blessed their perseverance. However, in the course of events, two more trying crises of a similar nature were to test the courage and the mettle of these valiant daughters of St. Francis.

Their undaunted spirit, however, only paved the way for new conquests: conquests of poverty that nearly destroyed their foundations; of human weaknesses that often made their duties seemingly unbearable; of insecurity and fear that clouded the first deceum. The narrative also has its brighter side as the story of the triumph of sincere, humble, strong, holy women who had been molded in the spirit of a new religious order that today flourishes and stands as a fulfillment of that challenge made a century ago by the pastor of the little Bavarian village.

Under the "Valiant Woman," the present Rev. Mother Bartholomew, the Community has now expanded far and wide. Both America and China have benefited, even as they did through her immediate predecessors, the lovable Mother Thecla (1898-1925) and the saintly Mother Celestine (1925-1937), by her far-flung benefactions, discreet directions, and prudent administration. She is surrounded by a loyal corps of faithful co-workers who are making

every sacrifice to put into effect her wise dispositions. The Sisters of St. Francis of Milwaukee are affiliated with the Friars Minor Conventuals.

A New Assisi is well written, ably documented, and pleasingly presented. The authoress deserves special commendation for the diplomatic manner in which she bridges the critical periods of the Community's various crises. Her book is a valuable contribution to American Franciscana.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O.F.M. Conv.

St. Bonaventure's Convent,
Washington, D. C.



BOOKS RECEIVED

- Beebe, Catherine. *ABCs for Catholic Boys and Girls.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 27. 50c.
——— *Little Patron of Gardeners. The Good Saint Fiacre.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 39. 50c.
Cicognani, Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni. *Father Damien. Apostle of the Lepers.* Washington, D. C.: Fathers of the Sacred Hearts, 1947. Pp. 47. 50c.
Fawtier, Robert, and Louis Canet. *La Double Expérience de Catherine Benincasa.* Paris, France: Librairie Gallimard, 1948. Pp. 368. 550 fr.
Healy, Edwin F., S.J. *Marriage Guidance.* Chicago, Ill.: Loyola University Press, 1948. Pp. xvi-411. \$3.00.
Hök, Gösta. *Zinzendorfs Begriff der Religion.* Uppsala, Sweden: A. B. Lundeqistska Bokhandeln, 1948. Pp. xii-221. Pris 10 Kr.
Kelly, Very Rev. Msgr. William R., Rev. Edmund J. Goebel and Rev. Daniel M. Dougherty in association with Right Rev. Msgr. M. A. Schumacher. *Living in God's Church.* New York, N. Y.: Benziger Bros., Inc., 1948. Pp. viii-376.
Kliest, James A., S.J. *The Didache. The Epistle of Barnabas. The Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. The Fragments of Papias. The Epistle to Diognetus.* Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1948. Pp. vi-235. \$2.75.
Kocourek, R. A. *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Nature.* St. Paul, Minn.: North Central Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. iv-176.
Maestro, Manuel. *Spanish Problems.* Washington, D. C.: Spanish Embassy, 1948. Pp. 35.
Sint Pietersabdij. *Sacris Erudiri.* Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen. Steenbrugge, Holland, 1948. Pp. 424.
Sister Mary, I.H.M., Sister Mary Roberta, O.P., and Sr. Mary Rosary, O.P. *The Catholic Mother's Helper.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. xvii-142. \$1.50.
Sister M. Marguerite, C.S.J. *The Stations for Small Children.* Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. 31. 50c.
Stepanich, Martin F., O.F.M. *The Christology of Zeno of Verona.* Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1948. Pp. xiv-69.
The Holy Bible. The Book of Genesis. Translated by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America. Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1948. Pp. vi-130. \$1.00.
Wilcox, Sister Catherine Joseph, S.P. *A Study of Reflections of the Peace Proposals of Pope Pius XII in the Writing of David Lawrence.* Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1948. Pp. xi-95.

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Spirit and Life Series

No. 1.

From Sunday to Sunday

An Interpretation of
The Proper of the Mass
That seeks to place
The Venerable Liturgy
In Modern Focus

by The Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D.

Pp. v, 409, \$3.50.

The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure, N. Y.

or

St. Anthony Guild Press
Paterson, N. J.

MARY IMMACULATE

The Bull "Ineffabilis Deus" of Pope Pius IX

Translated by Dominic J. Unger, O. F. M. Cap.

A brief but significant work, which gives the matter of a vital papal pronouncement. The Bull deals principally with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; indirectly, the Pope touches on other truths about Mary, and on the dogma of the development of the Church's doctrines.

40 pp., paperbound, \$0.50

Dept. 4-887
ST. ANTHONY GUILD PRESS
PATERSON 3, N. J.

LEARN TO USE A BANK

The wide variety of a bank's services are of incalculable value to its customers and its community.

Learn of the many ways in which you can use FIRST NATIONAL facilities which have been perfected through seven decades of service to Olean and vicinity. Checking, Interest, Safe Deposit, Trust and other facilities are at your command here.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK, Olean, N. Y.

Oldest National Bank in Cattaraugus County

MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

Books of Meaning

POETIC ART

By Paul Claudel

The classical themes of philosophy, the relation between subject and object, between mind and body, the nature of time, the meaning of history, and the existence of God, are a few of the subjects here presented by the eminent French poet, philosopher and mystic.

For those to whom the idea of French thought evokes the spirit of Cartesian rationalism, Poetic Art will reveal the equally important mystical and dreamy aspect of French speculation of which Claudel is an original exemplar.

\$2.75.

SAINT ELIZABETH

By Anne Seesholtz

Young Elizabeth, born a Hungarian princess, became, during her brief life of twenty-five years, one of the few distinguished women of the Thirteenth Century.

The pageantry of kings and bishops, minne-singers and pilgrim, Teutonic Knights, townfolk and peasants, the wealthy families and suffering poor, as well as the social conflicts of her Time, form the rich background for this portrait of an amazing Christian saint.

\$2.75.

SAINT MARGARET OF CORTONA

By Francois Mauriac

"I have never praised Mauriac before, but now I must say that here he is at his best. We have here a noble piece of work . . . may start a new method of hagiography which will give us saints that are alive."—J. M. Lelan, Ph.D., *Books on Trial*.

\$3.00.

ART AND FAITH

Exchange of Letters Between Jacques Maritain and Jean Cocteau

"A fascinating illumination of the intellectual and spiritual association of two of France's great modern writers and thinkers."—*America*. \$2.75

At Your Bookstore or Use Coupon

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, Publishers

15 E. 40th St., Dept. 299, New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me..... copies of (write in margin)
at \$..... per copy. Enclosed are \$.....

NAME

ADDRESS

FRANCISCAN INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

THE TRACTATUS DE SUCCESSIVIS
Attributed to WILLIAM OCKHAM

By PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M., Ph.D. \$2.00

"This is a kind of work which all mediaevalists and students of philosophy will welcome and, perhaps, try to emulate."....
Vernon J. Bourke

TRACTATUS DE PRAEFESTINATIONE ET DE
PRAESCENTIA DEI ET DE FUTURIS
CONTINGENTIBUS of WILLIAM
OCKHAM

By PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER, O.F.M., Ph.D. \$2.00

A careful analysis of the logic of this tract reveals the Medieval logic in some of its excellence and modernity.

INTUITIVE COGNITION
A KEY TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LATER
SCHOLASTICS

By SEBASTIAN DAY, O.F.M., Ph. D. \$2.00

A penetrating study of the teaching concerning intuitive cognition in Scotus and Ockham.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS
IN CHINA DURING THE YEARS 1784-1785

By BERNWARD WILLEKE, O.F.M., Ph.D. \$2.25

This study deals with the crucial years 1784 and 1785 when the Manchu government instituted a severe, nationwide persecution of Christianity.

THE TRANSCENDENTALS AND THEIR FUNCTION
in the METAPHYSICS OF DUNS SCOTUS

By ALLAN WOLTER, O.F.M., Ph.D. \$2.00

The whole treatise is integrated by means of Scotus' ingenious conception of metaphysics and its significance for natural theology.

DATE DUE

JAN 28 1994

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
For renewals call (510) 649-2500

All items are subject to recall

EX
3601
F7
ser.2
v.8
1948

35369

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
BERKELEY, CA 94709

GTU Library



3 2400 00304 5329

